"ACADEMIC CONFORMITY OBSERVED: STUDIES IN THE CLASSROOM"

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I hereby certify that the PhD thesis "Academic Conformity Observed: Studies in the Classroom" is the product of my own unaided labours, with the exception of the consultations noted in the Ackowledgements.

Signed

June 1st 1973

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SUMMARY

This thesis is predominantly a study of a sample of girls from one school. The major focus is conformity and non-conformity in scholastic matters, with special emphasis on classroom behaviour.

The project began with questionnaire research on the attitudes to study held by a large sample of Scottish adolescents. Acting on the conclusions of this research, the project underwent a change of primary focus. Instead of concentrating on attitudes in a large sample, the main emphasis became the actions of small numbers of pupils in the classroom - particularly their speech patterns. Two distinct methods were used to study the classroom, systematic observation with pre-determined schedules, and unstructured or 'ethnographic' observation. Both types of observation were used to analyse the classroom behaviour of teachers, in addition to the conformity and non-conformity of pupil behaviour in the classroom.

Teacher and pupil perspectives on academic matters are discussed, and related to the interactions which occurred in the classroom. The historical and social background of the particular school in which the intensive study took place is examined, and associated with the 'rules' of classroom discourse.

The final chapter of the thesis presents a model which integrates the various themes running through the thesis, drawn from the writings of the symbolic interactionist school of social psychology.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Scope of the Study - A Unique Combination of Methods

> 'There is a gap, a gulf, between tests and the more interesting aspects of human life, and it is the psychologist's job to span it.'
>
> (Hudson, 1966. p. 12)

Introduction

This chapter does two things: it describes the scope and content of the thesis and it outlines the methods used in the research. The study is about different kinds of conformity in academic contexts - in particular conformity to the 'rules' of classroom discourse, and respect for intellectual authority. Methods from traditionally separate fields of study are combined in the research and this chapter sketches their relationships and differences.

The Scope and the Methods

This thesis discusses the intellectual perspectives and work-habits of adolescents at a variety of Scottish schools; with particular emphasis on one sample of girls who are analysed in the context of the teaching they experienced and their institutional and social setting. Three traditionally separate methods of data collection have been used, together with aspects of their related theories.

The first of these three normally distinct methodologies uses inventories, questionnaires, or mental tests; and has traditionally formed the cornerstone of most educational psychology and educational sociology. Both the other two methods are based on observation, but used in rather different ways. In one tradition, which I have called systematic observation the observer uses a schedule of some description, which has been devised in advance, and allows the observer to code behaviour as he observes it, usually so that it can later be quantified, (Medley and Mitzel, 1963). The other tradition of observation I have called unstructured, because the observer is concerned to discover the interrelationship of variables in the social situation by observing social action.(1)

(1) The best reasons for and descriptions of unstructured observation are to be found in Anthropology textbooks (e.g. Epstein, 1967) and in the works of symbolic interactionists (e.g. Becker et al. 1961; McCall and Simmons, 1969).

These three particular methods of data collection have not, to my knowledge, been used in conjunction before. As a result there is no obvious precedent in the literature either for combining the results gathered in the separate traditions or for presenting it in a coherent monograph with the related theory. This lack of precedent has affected the form which this thesis takes and the style in which it is written. The authors who have conducted research in the three traditions relevant to this thesis have done so largely in mutual isolation. In consequence I have dispensed with the standard 'review of the literature' chapter, in favour of discussing the relevant literature at the appropriate point in the thesis. Stylistically, the lack of precedent has led me to expose the 'bare bones' of the research design rather more than usual - to explain and justify my use of the various data collection techniques at each stage of the discussion.

The remainder of this introductory chapter discusses three areas: first, the nature of the studies I have used from each of the three traditions; second, the possible relationships between them; and, third, the basic concepts which have shaped my attempted synthesis of them in this project. The following four chapters are based on questionnaire and inventory material integrated with unstructured observational data. Chapters 6 and 7 are concerned with systematic observation; then Chapters 8 and 9 combine systematic with unstructured methods.

Finally Chapter 10 synthesizes all three kinds of data into a coherent schematisation of the teacher-pupil relationship in the classroom.

To mention the content in more detail, Chapter 2 describes the origins of the research, in a questionnaire-based study of pupil work styles, and shows how this beginning led to a wider interest in the individual's educational environment. This chapter ends with the outline of those elements from the final schematisation which are to be introduced in the following three chapters.

Chapter 3 introduces the reader to the school, St Luke's, where the main observational study took place. The main focus is on the staff who taught there and their role vis-a-vis the pupils. Chapter 4 focuses on the pupils, introducing them through their leisure interests and informal friendship groups and sketching their family backgrounds. Chapter 5 is also about the pupils, but centres on their academic lives; their attitudes to the curriculum, their plans for their lives after leaving school, and their perceptions of their own role in the school.

Chapters 6 and 7 contain the data gathered by systematic observation techniques on teacher styles and pupil styles together with the relevant literature on classroom interaction. Chapter 8 presents a detailed comparison of two teachers, showing how systematic observation can be integrated with other types of material. Chapter 9, the 'twin' chapter, consists of profiles of four girls, using

information discussed earlier in the thesis and again integrating different types of data. The theoretical integration of the thesis is outlined in Chapter 10, where an interactionist theory of classroom events is put forward.

Following this outline of the design of the thesis, in the rest of this chapter I want to place my study in the context of some relevant aspects of educational research in the three traditions.

THE THREE TRADITIONS: Paper and Pencil Measures, Systematic and Unstructured Observation

My work on teacher and pupils styles has only a tangential connection with the mainstream of work in either the mental testing field or that of questionnaire and survey based educational psychology. However, it does have close ties with some of the less orthodox work which has developed from that tradition, in particular that of Hudson (1966, 1968a, 1968b) on differences in intellectual styles, which grew out of intelligence testing, and Parlett (1967 and 1970) on individual work-styles. The study described below used a variety of questionnaires and inventories, in particular a version of the syllabus-bound inventory developed by Parlett for use among students at MIT (Parlett, 1967) and also Hudson on English schoolboys, (Hudson, 1968). The questionnaires and inventories used in this study have provided much of

the quantifiable data, and the means of comparing samples of pupils at different schools.

The main emphasis of this study was, however, placed on observation within schools rather than on inventories, questionnaires or tests. Ten years ago, when Medley and Mitzel were compiling their chapter for Gage's Handbook of Research on Teaching (Gage, 1963, ed.), this emphasis would have made it a very unusual research project. They pointed out in their chapter on systematic observation:

> 'It is a rare study indeed that includes any formal observation at all. In a typical example of research on teaching, the research worker limits himself to the manipulation or study of antecedents and consequents of whatever happens in the classroom while the teaching itself is going on, but never once looks into the classroom to see how the teacher actually teaches or the pupils actually learn.'
>
> (p. 247)

Medley and Mitzel were referring specifically to systematic observation, although the comment was equally applicable to unstructured observation. Since then, however, there has been a rapid increase in the use of systematic observation techniques.(2) By 1970 Rosenshine could state caustically:

> (There has been a)... 'rapid production of category systems... in recent years. In addition

(2) Some of these systems are mentioned briefly later in this chapter. A more thorough review of the relevant literature occurs in Chapter 6. At this point it is enough to say that this part of the research is well documented and has clear precedents.

> to the twenty-six systems anthologized by Simon and Boyer (1968), a hundred more can be located with little effort... It appears as if the creation of a new category system were a prerequisite for graduation from some universities.'
>
> (Barak Rosenshine, 1970, p. 115)

In contrast to this rapid growth in the use of systematic observation, unstructured observation techniques have remained largely neglected. Handbooks of research methods in the social sciences, particularly anthropology, discuss unstructured observation, but handbooks on educational research do not.(3) There have, however, been a few studies done in recent years using unstructured techniques, in particular the work of Becker and his associates in higher education and professional socialization (Becker et al., 1961, 1968). This work and that of Parlett at MIT (Parlett, 1967) also relied extensively on interviewing, a method of data collection already common in work on professionalization (e.g. Jackson, 1970).

The ideas of Becker and his collaborators have been used in various other institutional settings, particularly hospitals (Strauss et al., 1963) but have not - until very recently - been applied to schools, although teaching is one of the professions in which they are interested.(4) (Petersen, 1964; Becker, 1963.) Where work has been done

(3) e.g., Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook, 1951; Epstein, 1967 and Gage, 1963.
(4) Some of their ideas about teaching as a profession are incorporated in Chapter 3.

in schools using unstructured techniques there has been little reference to the studies on higher education. Four studies of schools using unstructured techniques have been useful during my research; two studies of English secondary schools (Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1970), and two of American elementary classes (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968, Jackson, 1968).

As I have used both observational methods this thesis is an attempt to integrate the two types of data, both at the methodological and the theoretical levels.(5) The particular type of systematic observation undertaken was mainly influenced by the work of Flanders and his associates, (Flanders, 1970) which stems originally from research done by Bales (1950). The premises on which the unstructured observation was based were predominantly those of symbolic interactionism (Becker et al., 1961; 1968).

The decision to integrate data gathered from different traditions into one coherent monograph was initially the product of disappointment. During 1968-9 I conducted a study of syllabus-bound and syllabus-free(6) pupils in

(5) This introduction deals mainly with the methodological aspects of the integration, while Chapter 10 deals with the theoretical. The problems which arise from a theoretical integration are considerable, and I do not want to discuss them here.

(6) These terms derive from Parlett (1967) and Hudson (1968) and are explained in Chapter 2. Briefly, they refer to two opposed patterns of study, embodying different degrees of dependence on intellectual authority.

some secondary schools based solely on questionnaires and inventories. This research (described in Chapter 2) raised more questions than it resolved. The study set out to elaborate on Liam Hudson's use of the syllabus-bound inventory, (Hudson, 1968) by doing a large-scale project on Scottish adolescents. I found that differences between samples from the various schools visited were great, even when the pupils were of the same age, sex and social class. Nothing in the questionnaire data explained the wide range of scores, and the answers appeared to lie in the internal structures of the schools. A research project which was based on observation within one or more schools, designed to illuminate the subtle variations which had eluded the questionnaire-based study, was indicated.

When I came to the literature on observation in schools I was intrigued by the existence of two disparate traditions of observation - the systematic and the unstructured - apparently in mutual isolation. I felt that the two types of observation had been used for tackling different research problems, and so were not necessarily incompatible. The project at St Luke's was therefore planned to involve both methods, each in the areas where it was most appropriate.(7) While in the field I found that the two techniques were indeed compatible, and the problems which

(7) The exact details of the use of the two methods are given later in this chapter.

were raised by the combination of methods were relatively slight. However, the difficulties of producing a coherent report of the study utilising all the data are considerable. This is due, at least in part, to the lack of any previous work attempting the same combination of techniques, and the resulting lack of any established conventions for presenting such data.(8)

As mentioned earlier, most educational research, both psychological and sociological, relies mainly on 'paper and pencil' measures - tests, questionnaires and inventories. The social context of the 'subjects' is normally reduced to a few simple variables, such as age, sex, socio-economic status, IQ or reading age. The extent to which these variables crystallize the social context of the subjects is a matter for debate, but commonsense alone might suggest that when the focus of a study is on teaching or learning in the classroom, a more detailed analysis of the 'world' in which these activities take place is desirable, if not essential.

In fact, evidence from one recent study (Barker-Lunn, 1970) suggests that however carefully designed a questionnaire-based study is, the findings may be inconclusive due to lack of enough information about the

(8) On reflection, this seems to be merely an extreme example of the generally uneasy relationship which has always existed between observational and other forms of data in the social sciences. (E.g. Mike Stubbs subsequently told me that the same problem exists in linguistics.) The topic is discussed in Chapter 10.

face-to-face behaviour in the classroom. Barker-Lunn's tacit conclusion was that interaction inside the classroom had more far-reaching effects on the pupils than the formal organisation of the school.(9)

The avoidance of observation in most research is not paralleled by an avoidance of traditional research techniques in observational studies. Many of the published studies using systematic observation have also involved written measures, and these 'paper and pencil' research tools are also found in several of the studies based on unstructured observation. The relative emphasis placed on the tests or questionnaires varies, from their use merely to provide some quantifiable data to reinforce the observational findings, to their forming an integral part of the basic research design.(10) Flanders, the originator of the systematic technique used with teachers in this study, together with numerous collaborators, has carried out a great many projects using achievement tests and attitude inventories in conjunction with his observation system, (Flanders, 1970).(11) An examination of the

(9) The inconclusive nature of Barker-Lunn's report can be contrasted with the more fruitful results produced by Duthie's (1970) study of primary education, based on observation, designed to assess the potential uses of aides.
(10) Bowers and Soar, for example, used the OScAR system of observation with a sample of teachers, and compared each teacher's profile with his scores on various personality tests and attitude inventories, such as the MMPI and the MTAI, (Bowers and Soar, 1961).
(11) In a typical study carefully matched classes are taught by teachers with very different profiles on his observation schedule and then the classes' scores on achievement tests in the subjects compared. (Flanders, 1964.) My own use of Flanders's system is rather different from the author's own. (See Chapter 8)

massive bibliography of systematic observational research produced by Simon and Boyer (1970) reveals that it is common for systematic techniques to be used in conjunction with written data in this way. I felt that I could combine my use of systematic observation with questionnaire and inventory data easily.

The relationship between the unstructured methods of observation and either the data produced by 'paper and pencil' measures or that from systematic observation is an uneasy one. It is, of course, merely a part of the wider problem which faces anyone using unstructured techniques: how to handle and present the data and whether or not to attempt to quantify them. A comparison of those authors whose work with unstructured observation has influenced this research shows vividly that there is no concensus about the extent to which other types of data should be incorporated.

At one extreme the two books produced by the Manchester 'anthropologists', Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970) contain far more data derived from written questionnaires than actual accounts of the observation. Lacey includes a long historical section derived from published records, and quotes at length from diaries kept by the boys, apparently at his request.(12) Hargreaves

(12) Like many other aspects of his methods, Lacey does not make it clear whether he asked boys to keep diaries for him, or merely obtained private records from some boys.

uses questionnaire responses extensively in his book, although his subjects would probably have been more articulate in interviews than on paper. Both men relied very heavily on sociometric data to establish social relations among the boys, and apparently paid little attention to recording actual patterns of interaction among the boys while they were in the schools. This reliance on written material means that their books tell us more about social relations expressed in writing than they do about what the fieldworker actually saw. Neither book contains detailed accounts of the lessons observed: neither their intellectual content, nor the teachers' actions, nor the pupils' reactions and classroom behaviour.(13)

At the opposite extreme, the work of Smith and Geoffrey and of Becker and his associates, is based almost entirely on observational data, augmented occasionally by official statistics and quotations from other printed material. These authors use lengthy extracts from their field notes in their published texts, quoting from them both the impressions of the actual observer in the field and conversations with informants. Becker and his collaborators even produce quantitative data from their field notes, rather than using any form of questionnaire or survey.

(13) This relative neglect of the classroom is common in British books on educational sociology and social psychology. Walker (1972) discusses this neglect in some detail, and I do not want to go into the reasons for it here. He quotes one telling fact, however: Olive Banks' book, The Sociology of Education (a standard text book) has 218 pages, of which 8 are about the classroom, (Banks, 1968).

The work of Parlett and Jackson is in an intermediate position with regard to written data (Parlett, 1967; Jackson, 1968). Jackson used questionnaire data, and interviews with teachers, to illuminate some aspects of the conclusions he had drawn from two years of unstructured observation in elementary schools. Parlett, who was interested in differences in the individual approaches to study among MIT undergraduates, also used inventories and interviews, and in addition encouraged students to keep diaries of their working time for him. In both these studies the written data are related to the observation, and not overstressed; there is certainly not the heavy emphasis on the questionnaire findings that exists in the works of Hargreaves and Lacey.

The relationship between unstructured observation and written data in these seven studies shows considerable variations, according to the authors' priorities. However, when systematic observation is considered, all seven studies appear very similar - it is totally ignored as a research method in all of them. In fact there seems to be a total lack of communication between those research workers who use systematic observation and those who use unstructured. This mutual non-recognition is apparent from a comparison of the methods, results or conclusions of any pair of studies from the two traditions. Because there has been little or no debate between the researchers using the two types of observation, it is difficult to

understand quite why they have avoided each others' work so assiduously. There are some apparently fundamental differences between the two types of method, which I have outlined below, although I am not sure that they account entirely for the mutual incomprehension.

Systematic and Unstructured Observation Compared

One important difference between the types lies in the roles played by the observers in the field. The observer using systematic schedules tries to be as unobtrusive as possible, within the classroom, taking no part at all in the proceedings which occur, and to confine himself to observing formal, classroom lessons. If these researchers ever visit the staffrooms or playgrounds and talk informally to the teachers and pupils, their data on their conversations and observations in these situations are completely excluded from the published reports of the research.

This is in complete contrast to the role of the observer using the unstructured methods. Here the research worker behaves much more like that archetypal participant observer, the social anthropologist. He may not actually take an active part in all events, but he does try to submerge himself, and to follow his subjects

throughout long periods of time, while they engage in a variety of activities.(14) In some studies it has even been possible for the field-worker to interrogate the participants and get their reactions and accounts of events as they occur, but this is not always feasible. (See Becker et al., 1961.)

This type of participant observation is certainly not possible in the classrooms of 'normal' British secondary schools, where conversation between pupils, if it occurs at all, is defined as illicit. In primary schools using any form of group teaching, and in higher education the unstructured method is particularly appropriate, and it is in these two situations that it has been most widely applied. In the sphere of higher education, the researchers at Kansas mixed freely with students during classes as well as in their 'off-duty' time. (Becker et al., 1961; 1968.) At the opposite end of the educational scale Smith talked to pupils in the ghetto elementary school he studied, and was closely involved with the teacher. (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968.) In contradistinction neither Lacey nor Hargreaves actually took part in any aspect of the academic life of the boys they studied, except when teaching them, and were only able to participate in some of the extra-curricular and recreational activities of their samples.

(14) Participation can be overdone. A friend arrived in a Peruvian village to study labour relations to find an anthropologist leading the 'traditional' New Year procession in its ritual dances.

In my study I attempted to play both types of observational role within the school, depending on the situations which arose. Within the ordinary, largely silent classroom I acted as an entirely non-participant, 'fly-on-the-wall' observer, and concentrated on using two systematic schedules, augmented by notes of other events.(15) In those lessons where the girls were sometimes free to move around and to talk amongst themselves (such as Needlework, Art, the three sciences, and games), I circulated among the pupils during the appropriate periods, talking to them and to the teacher. In the episodes where attention was focused on the teacher I reverted to the non-participant role, and used my systematic techniques if they were applicable. Throughout the rest of the school day I concentrated on participating in the life of the staff-room and the playground, engaging in conversations with teachers and pupils, during breaks, lunch-hours, free lessons, the intervals between lessons and the extra-curricular activities.

With this combination of techniques I tried to make the best possible use of my time in the school, to provide coherent accounts of both the highly regulated, and the relatively free, episodes in the school day of my sample. It appeared to be perfectly possible to play both roles while observing in the same school, because each role is used in the context where it is closest to the behaviour

(15) The two schedules are discussed in depth in Chapters 6 and 7.

of the people being observed. Within a secondary school, at least, the two methods of observing are not incompatible - and the mutual ignorance which exists is not a necessary correlate of the situations studied.

There is, however, a greater area of difference between the systematic and the unstructured techniques than that of the roles played by the fieldworker: namely, their respective attitudes to recording data in the field, and handling it afterwards. The proponents of the various systematic observation techniques believe that data recorded with the aid of their schedules are superior to those collected in an unstructured form in two main ways. They believe that their methods of data collection and analysis minimise observer bias, and provide rigorous, quantifiable data; both matters of great - almost supreme - concern to them. The elimination of observer bias is discussed in the following extract from the introduction to Flander's 1965 version of his instruction manual for observers. He states:

> 'The spontaneous behaviour of a teacher is so complex and variable that an accurate description of it is most difficult to obtain. Even trained observers struggle with the same biases that distort the testimony of witnesses at the scene of an accident. Too often an observer's preconceptions of what he thinks should happen create a screen through which the perceptions of some behaviours can pass and are noticed and other behaviours cannot pass and are ignored. Interaction analysis is an observation procedure designed to minimize these difficulties, permit a systematic record of spontaneous acts, and scrutinize the process of instruction by taking into account each small bit of interaction.'
>
> (Flanders, 1965; p. 1.)

Similar sentiments can be found in many works by researchers who have used systematic techniques. Medley and Mitzel express similar ideas in their paper in Gage's magnum opus on teaching research, but they are even more concerned about the statistical rigour in collecting and handling data. They go so far as to insist that the very term 'observational technique' should apply...

> '...only to procedures which use systematic observations of classroom behaviour to obtain reliable and valid measurements of differences in the typical behaviours which occur in different situations in the same classroom.'
>
> (Medley & Mitzel 1963, p. 305-6: emphasis mine.)

Of course not all the writers in the field are this extreme in their views; Biddle, for instance, uses the term 'observation' to apply to both systematic and unstructured types, but he has similar reservations about the latter.

> 'Participant observation is a technique originally developed by anthropologists and depends upon extensive participation by the observer in typical interactive situations... Observations are usually written up by the participant observer at the end of the day and are summarised in a journalistic style... Whenever used, however, participant observation has emphasised the observer's "understanding" of a complex situation rather than the documentation of those "understandings" with firm evidence.'
>
> (Biddle 1964, p. 21-2, emphasis mine.)

Thus, for writers like Flanders, Biddle, and Medley and Mitzel, unstructured observation produces data which are, at best, difficult to turn into 'hard evidence', (Biddle op. cit. p. 23) and at worst, statistically unreliable

and invalid, unscientific, and possibly biased. They believe, in contrast, that they are able to devise schedules for systematic observation which will produce, impartially and scientifically, data which are quantifiable, reliable and valid. However, to construct such schedules, the researcher has to specify in advance the particular problems in which he is interested, and which classroom behaviours or events he will accept as evidence relevant to the particular problems. He must choose a series of what Flanders calls 'pre-determined concepts' as the focus of the schedule. (Flanders, 1965; p. 1.)(16)

This pre-determining of concepts and the structuring of time intervals are an almost inevitable part of the construction of a schedule for systematic observation. Necessarily, then, much of what goes on in the classroom is prejudged and 'taken-for-granted', (see below, footnote 16).

(16) The exact form of these pre-determined concepts varies widely in different schedules, according to the interests of the researcher. Systems have been based on coding the amount of use made of visual aids, or the number of physical contacts, or non-verbal communications like smiling. (Medley and Mitzel, 1963; Harrington, 1955.) The majority of systems code speech acts, but coded on the basis of a very wide range of assumptions, from Wittgenstein's philosophy of games to Bales' small group dynamics. (See Bellack et al., 1966 and Flanders, 1970.) In addition, many systematic techniques rely on some form of time-sampling, or time-structuring, so that the observer either changes from one sub-section of his schedule to another and back again at regular intervals, as in the OScAR system; or he imposes his own rhythm on the flow of classroom events by coding them at regular intervals (as in the system used by Flanders) rather than worrying about trying to break down events into their natural units. (See Medley and Mitzel op. cit. and Flanders 1965.) And, as I have pointed out above, the adherents of systematic techniques tend to accept the time structure of the organised school day, with its bells and periods, and confine their observation accordingly.

This degree of pre-judgement is, of course, a perfectly acceptable research strategy in some projects, but for many users of unstructured observation it misses the whole point of carrying out research.

Biddle concludes his discussion of unstructured observation by saying that it...'is best used when one is totally unfamiliar with the situation and when one wants an overview in order to develop hypotheses', (Biddle, 1964; p. 23). Unstructured observation has frequently been used in this way in schools and colleges, indeed, most systems were developed in this way. Biddle has, however, ignored the possibility that a researcher might deliberately choose to be 'unfamiliar' with a situation - to go and look at the familiar as a stranger might, without any pre-determining of anything.

The idea of taking an everyday situation in the classroom and treating it as problematic occurs in several of the studies based on unstructured techniques which I have cited. Jackson (1968) set out deliberately to do just this in his work on elementary schools. He states in his introduction that his book ...

> 'does not contain a systematic, or even an unsystematic, review of the many extant studies of classroom phenomena ... Even the names of these prominent investigators (the systematic observers) are barely mentioned in the pages that follow. This omission is not an oversight but is a necessity in a book that tries to focus on some of the unexplored terrain in an increasingly well-travelled field.'
>
> (Introd., p. viii)

Jackson then goes on to discuss several aspects of this 'unexplored terrain', by focusing on many of the features of school life that other observers take for granted, such as 'learning to be alone in a crowd' and the teacher's role as 'traffic manager'.

Smith and Geoffrey were more interested in the teacher's life in a ghetto school than with the children's viewpoint, but like Jackson, they set out with a desire to show 'what it was really like' without prejudging what was important enough to be recorded. (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968.) The process of setting aside one's preconceptions about what is important are vividly described by Blanche Geer in her paper on 'First Days in the Field'. (Geer, 1964.) She and her colleagues were attempting to study college life and discover 'the experience of going to college from the point of view of the student', a research design demanding the treatment of the ordinary as 'unfamiliar'.

Summary

These, then, were the main differences between the methodologies and outlook of systematic and unstructured observation; the role of the observer, the handling of the data, and the attitude towards pre-determination. None of these formed unbridgeable gulfs between the methods, for I found myself playing both types of observer role, handling both kinds of data in appropriate manner, and looking at some topics via pre-determined categories, and

others with the intention of discovering how they were viewed by participants.

Thus, three traditionally separate methods were combined into one research project. Two problems arose: handling the data and writing the analyses into a coherent monograph. The data produced by systematic observation techniques and by 'paper and pencil' measures are easily quantified; those drawn from interviews and unstructured observation are not. Handling unstructured data presents immense problems which have nowhere been satisfactorily solved.

Writing this report was also expected to cause difficulties, and it duly did so! However, in the event it has proved to be feasible. All my findings are relevant to the classroom process, and most of them to the topic of pupil conformity. Also I have been able to construct a coherent model of classroom dynamics, which allows for change to occur; and succeeds in synthesising not only the research in this thesis, but also makes sense of some discrepancies in the literature. (See Chapter 10.) In summary, I feel that the eclecticism was justified, for the 'trade-offs' between methods are considerable, and the results infinitely richer than a study in one tradition could have produced.

CHAPTER 2

THE SYLLABUS-BOUND STUDENT

The Questionnaire Study and the Prologue to Intensive Research

> 'Some of them argue back a lot. I'm not interested - I mean I'm quite content to take facts.'
> (Alexandra, aged 14)
>
> 'If I understand something it means I don't have to learn it - And I wouldn't voluntarily learn any fact.'
> (Henrietta, aged 14)

Introduction

This chapter introduces the reader to one aspect of academic conformity - the concept of the syllabus-bound student. A large-scale project on this topic, and some correlates of it, is described. Then, after the conclusions drawn from that study, the argument in favour of an intensive project is presented. The intensive study is described; and the theoretical framework which underlies it is briefly outlined.

Study-Habits and the Classroom

This chapter is designed to serve two functions. It provides the historical perspective to the main 'paper and pencil' aspect of the thesis, and accounts for the decision to integrate that aspect with observational research data. It also serves as the entry-point into the model for the study of classroom interaction as a dynamic process, which itself forms the summit and conclusion to the whole thesis. This model, or schematization, has several aspects covered in this thesis and many more which are outside its scope. However its main purpose is to show what part the study of pupils' work-styles has to play in the study of classrooms, and hence of education. The work-style of the pupils is one of the key 'access-points' both for the thesis and the model, and, I contend, for the study of the educational process, it has been unjustifiably neglected.

The first part of this chapter is devoted to a brief discussion of the research conducted into the nature of syllabus-bound and syllabus-free students and school children following the work of Parlett (1967 and 1970) and Hudson (1968). The second half relates this work to the argument of the rest of the thesis, and gives a foretaste of the schematization produced finally in Chapter 10.

SECTION 1 - SYLLABUS-BOUND STUDENTS - A STUDY

The central focus of the work described here is a self-report inventory which assesses each individual's need, or preference for, a fixed, externally derived syllabus to guide and structure his academic work. This section shows how scores on the inventory relate to the subject specialisation and further education plans of pupils. Differences between the sexes, and between schools are reported; and study-habits are related to school organisation and the wider education system.

The self-report inventory separates two types of student, the syllabus-bound and the syllabus-free, who react in markedly different ways to the constituent items making up the syllabus-bound/syllabus-free scale. The syllabus-bound student (the sylb) can only work successfully when he has a clearly planned, externally arranged syllabus to guide him. His opposite, the syllabus-free student (the sylf) finds such a comprehensive syllabus restricting, and is happiest working on his own ideas, and following up particular interests.(1)

These opposing types of work-style were first established by Parlett (1967) working with science undergraduates at MIT, and by Hudson (1968) working with academically able English sixth-formers. The variable proved to be interesting as an indication of the nature of

(1) John Updike's story 'The Christian Roomates' portrays two students who epitomise the opposed types.

institutions as well as a method of classifying individuals. Hudson has suggested that the variable has helped to highlight differences in the nature of undergraduate supervision at Cambridge and at MIT. It seems that those who fall into psychiatric difficulties over their work are usually sylfs at MIT, while at Cambridge they tend to be sylbs. (Hudson, 1968. p. 13.)

Here the variable is shown to discriminate between groups in some Scottish schools. The results of the Scottish research are compared with the results of Hudson's work using the variable in England, and some of the correlates of being syllabus-bound are examined.

The Edinburgh Sample

The sylb/sylf questionnaire was given to nearly two hundred girls in three Edinburgh schools in the summer term.(2) The format of the schedule was the same as that used by Hudson.(3) I also had access to the scripts of some boys from another Edinburgh school, who had been tested by a man.(4) This gave a total sample of 218 pupils aged

(2) After their SCE Higher grade. See Scottish Education Department (1969).
(3) Hudson (1968). The ideas underlying the items are the same as those in the schedule used by Parlett (1967), but his was worded to suit the American college scene (and contained twice the number of items).
(4) I avoided testing boys myself. Experimenter effects are now a recognised hazard, e.g. Anastasi (1958) on ethnic factors and Rosenthal (1966 and 1968). It seemed prudent to keep the sex of the tester as a controlled variable.

between fifteen and seventeen.(5) All of them came from single-sex, fee-paying day schools, and completed a short questionnaire giving details of their examination subjects, family size and so on, as well as the sylb/sylf schedule.

The first stage in the analysis of the data was to find a cluster of items which differentiated the sylb and sylf - if such a thing existed! This involved some fairly complex procedures, and the method is set out in detail in Appendix 4. The cluster which eventually emerged contains ten items: (The response given after each item is that of the syllabus-bound student.)(6)

1) I like teachers who stick to the syllabus, and do not digress.
AGREE

7) Interests out of school often make me neglect my work.
DISAGREE

8) I find it difficult to concentrate on my work.
DISAGREE

11) I like to work at a precisely defined task.
AGREE

12) Whether I like a subject or not, I do my best to get a good mark.
AGREE

13) I often disagree with my teachers.
DISAGREE

14) It matters a great deal to me that I should get good marks in examinations.
AGREE

(5) 174 girls and 44 boys.
(6) The Alpha coefficient of this cluster is .664. See Appendix 4, and McKennel (1970 and 1972) for fuller details. The inventory is shown in Appendix 3.

19) I think that my school marks are a fairly accurate reflection of my true ability.
AGREE

20) I try to develop a genuine interest in every subject I take.
AGREE

24) I would rather pursue my own ideas than follow a syllabus.
DISAGREE

This differs from the cluster found by Hudson, although five items, (nos. 1, 7, 13, 19, & 24) appear in both, so there is a considerable amount of overlap.(7) The items in the two clusters express the same underlying ideas: preference for defined tasks and directive teaching; acceptance of all the school has to offer; steady, uninterrupted work; and a strong orientation towards gaining good marks and passing exams. There is one major exception, the quality of 'erraticness', as expressed in item 21.(8) Hudson found that this item was the kingpin of his cluster, having the highest average intercorrelation with the other items. I found that it had very low correlations with nearly all the other items in the schedule.(9)

If one pictures the sylb as a dedicated sponge, mopping up all the school has to offer, irrespective of

(7) Hudson, 1968, p. 13.
(8) Item 21: I tend to be erratic, sometimes working well sometimes badly.
(9) This was partly because a large proportion of the sample (67%) agreed that they were erratic. I have discussed the relationship between being erratic and being syllabus-bound below.

whether it interests him or not, one would expect to find that he tackled his work systematically and conscientiously. Seven of the items in the questionnaire referred specifically to study-habits, and four of them formed a second item cluster. (The response given is that of the conscientious student.)

2) I put off written work until the last minute.
DISAGREE

3) I keep my notes for each subject arranged in a logical order.
AGREE

6) I take fewer notes than most of my classmates.
DISAGREE

4) I find that I revise more thoroughly than most of my classmates.
AGREE

The first three items were used by Hudson as an indication of conscientiousness. I found that all three were highly intercorrelated with item 4, so I decided to add it to the others.(10)

Once these two clusters had been established, each individual in the sample was given two scores, one on the sylb/sylf scale, the other for conscientiousness. The possible scores on the sylb/sylf scale ranged from twenty to zero, high scorers being sylbs.(11) The scores on the conscientiousness scale ranged from eight to zero, the conscientious students gaining high scores. Thus the

(10) Alpha = .61.
(11) A syllabus-bound response got two points, a '?' response got one point. The same system was used for the other scale, the 'hard working' response getting the points.

hardest working, most syllabus-bound pupil would gain scores of eight and twenty on the two scales. Three pupils in the Edinburgh sample did so.

Once every individual had received two scores, the two distributions were examined to determine whether there was any relationship between studying conscientiously and being syllabus-bound. The pupils in the sample were divided into two extreme groups, high and low scorers, and an intermediate, 'no bias', group, first on the basis of their scores on the sylb/sylf scale, and then again on their conscientiousness scores. Then four criterion groups were established made up of those pupils whose scores were outside the intermediate range on <u>both</u> scales.(12) The four groups were therefore: non-conscientious sylfs, non-conscientious sylbs, conscientious sylbs, and conscientious sylfs.(13) Most pupils were found to be either non-conscientious sylfs or conscientious sylbs.(14) From this I concluded that the sylbs in this sample were more likely to be hard working, and the sylfs were more likely not to be.(15) (Or, to be pedantic, sylfs were significantly less likely to report that they usually

(12) See Appendix 4 for further details of the method used to establish these criterion groups.
(13) The nos. in each group were: 35, 7, 53, & 14.
(14) 80% of subjects fell into those two groups.
(15) P = .001, n 109. All significance levels refer to the X^2 test, unless otherwise stated. I have generally classed as non-significant all probabilities greater than p = .02. The 'n' quoted refers to the sum of the four cells of the 2 x 2 table, not the whole sample tested, from this point, unless otherwise stated. See Appendix 4 for further details.

worked systematically and conscientiously. It might be that sylbs are less prepared to admit to laziness.)

This finding, although confirming our expectations, differs from the results of research done by Hudson and Parlett. They found, among English sixth-formers and American undergraduates, that there did not seem to be any definite connection between the two dimensions. Both have suggested that the specific tactics students use to tackle their work are not part of the network of correlates which includes being syllabus-bound or free.

There were several possible reasons for these contradictory results, both methodological and cultural, not all susceptible to testing. The explanation which could be tested most easily was one of differing techniques of analysis, but this proved not to be the case.(16)

This meant that the discrepant findings could not be explained away by a simple difference in the methods of analysis used. A detailed comparison of my data and Hudson's seemed to be called for. Professor Hudson was kind enough to make his data available to me, so I could re-examine it, and attempt to explain our discrepant results.

(16) I had given each individual a cumulative score on the conscientiousness scale, while both Hudson and Parlett had compared separately the responses to each item in the cluster with the sylb/sylf scores. It was possible that my method had masked a result similar to theirs. Therefore, I considered the responses of the extreme sylbs, extreme sylfs, and 'intermediates' to each of the four items in the conscientiousness cluster separately. In all four cases the sylbs were significantly likely at the 5% level or better to give the conscientious response, and thessylfs to give the non-conscientious answer.

The English Sample

Hudson had nearly two hundred sylb/sylf questionnaires completed by English sixth-formers, and these were all made available to me. His subjects came from four single-sex schools, all with high academic reputations. However the sample differed from mine because it consisted mostly of boys, (141 boys and 37 girls).

Hudson's original finding, that the two variables were not significantly correlated, was based on a sample from one school (n 43). It was replicated on samples from two other schools, each taken in isolation, (n 37 and n 46). My re-examination of the data from these three samples, each considered separately, reproduces Hudson's results exactly.

The material which Hudson made available to me consisted of the data from the three schools which he had analysed, plus data he had subsequently collected from a fourth school, which had not then been analysed. At this school, there was a highly significant correlation between the variables.(17) The results from this school are also enough to alter the balance of the results of the whole English sample, giving a significant correlation between being syllabus-bound and being conscientious.

There thus seem to be two main reasons for the contradictory results of the studies: the size of the sample

(17) Using either method, and either set of scores. $p = .005$, n 26.

on which the analyses were based, and the genuine differences between individual schools. Sample size is a constant problem for the researcher as Hudson (1966, p. 160) himself has pointed out. He describes how an initially high significance level dwindled when he tried to replicate it on a larger sample. In the case of the relationship between being syllabus-bound and being conscientious, the opposite occurred.

While there was a clear relationship between being a sylb and being conscientious for the sample as a whole (Hudson's plus mine), there were also large differences between the average scores on each measure produced by the various schools which made up the samples, particularly between the Edinburgh schools and the English ones.(18) These variations between the schools involved, which are spelt out in detail elsewhere (Delamont, 1969), were the main reason for concentrating further research onto observation of individual school systems. The differences between schools did not, however, exhaust the findings of the 'paper and pencil' research. Some of the other findings are discussed below.

(18) It should be made clear that Parlett's results still remain intact. It may be that samples from other American colleges would vary as much as those from British schools on this measure, or that the lack of a relationship between syllabus-boundedness and conscientiousness is general among American students.

Sex Differences and the Inventory

The first correlation which appeared was that hardy perennial of research in social science, the sex difference. The total sample available for analysis, that is all the Edinburgh scripts and those of Hudson, was made up of approximately half boys and half girls. The mean scores of the two sex groups differed more than the mean scores of the two national samples on the sylb/sylf scale. That is, all the girls, Scottish and English together, are more similar to each other, than either are to boys from their own side of the border. The mean scores of the two sexes show that as a whole, the boys are more conscientious than the girls, but less syllabus-bound.(19)

If one considers just the boys, and establishes the four criterion groups among them, the majority of the boys are either conscientious sylbs or non-conscientious sylfs.(20) That is conscientiousness is significantly related to being syllabus-bound among boys taken alone.(21) The same is true for the sample of girls.(22) In addition, if the minority criterion groups are broken down by sex, (the non-conscientious sylbs and the conscientious sylfs)

(19) Boys mean scores: 10.08 and 4.90, n 185
Girls mean scores: 11.18 and 4.62, n 211.
(20) 78%.
(21) p = .001, n 93.
(22) 76%, p = .001, n 119.

the former are significantly likely to be girls and the latter boys.(23)

The Correlates of Being Syllabus-Bound or Free

Four factors were found to be correlated with being syllabus-bound or free in the 1968-69 study: being erratic and careless in academic work; subject specialisation; and further education plans.

Erratic Study-Habits

Hudson found that syllabus-free sixth-formers were significantly likely to admit to being erratic in their patterns of study. Item 21 of the inventory, which related explicitly to being erratic, was central to his sylb/sylf item cluster. In the Edinburgh study I found the item to have very low intercorrelations with other items in the schedule. However, as it is an interesting phenomenon, I decided to look at the responses of extreme sylbs and sylfs (from the Edinburgh sample) to the item. I found that, although the item was not highly inter-correlated with the others in my cluster, 'erraticness' and being syllabus-free were related. Extreme sylfs were significantly more likely to admit to being erratic than extreme sylbs.(24)

(23) This is only just significant at a respectable level. $p = 0.05$, n 48.
(24) $p = .02$, n 127.

Making Careless Mistakes

The item referring to being erratic in academic work was highly correlated with another item (Number 5) which concerned careless mistakes. Syllabus-free pupils were significantly likely to admit that they made a lot of careless mistakes in their work.(25) Thus, admitting to working erratically and to making careless mistakes are both related to being syllabus-free.

Subject Specialisation

The work on subject specialisation does not produce such a clear picture. Hudson was able to divide his sample of sixth-formers unambiguously into 'science' specialists and 'arts' specialists owing to the degree of specialisation common in England. Hudson found that, among boys, science specialists were predominantly syllabus-bound, and arts specialists predominantly syllabus-free.

It is, however, difficult to divide Scottish fifth year pupils into arts and science specialists in an unambiguous manner, because of the public examination system with its emphasis on broader courses. (see Chapter 5 and Pont and Butcher, 1968) Accordingly, I used the whole sample (that is Hudson's pupils and the Edinburgh sample) as the basis for the study of subject specialisation. This meant that I had approximately equal numbers of science specialists, arts specialists and people taking mixed courses; but that the latter were disproportionately Scots.

(25) $p = .01$, n 117.

Using this combined sample, there were 140 people taking mixed courses, 110 arts specialists, 135 scientists, and eleven classicists. On examining the relative proportions of syllabus-bound and free pupils taking the various types of course, it appeared that syllabus-bound pupils were slightly under-represented among those taking mixed courses, and slightly over-represented among the science specialists.(26) These were, however, only tendencies, and no clear pattern emerged. Considering the boys separately, only twenty per cent of arts specialists are sylbs, but the scientists are mainly intermediates, with sylbs and sylfs equally represented in the remainder.(27) Among the girls, the arts specialists are equally divided between all three groups, but only seventeen per cent of scientists are sylfs.

Further Education Plans

Being syllabus-bound or free was related to further education intentions. Most of the pupils in the total sample were hoping to go on to a university, indeed only 22% of the boys and 39% of the girls said they were not.(28)

(26) The sylbs and the sylfs each form 30% of the total sample, by definition. (see Appendix 4.) If they were equally divided among the three types of course, 30% of each course should be sylbs, 30% sylfs, and 40% intermediates. In fact 25% of the people doing mixed courses are sylbs (33% are sylfs); 29% of the arts specialists (39% are sylfs); and 31% of the scientists (25% are sylfs).
(27) Of the 48 boys doing arts, 22% are sylbs, 45% sylfs. Of the 88 boys doing sciences, 26% are sylbs, 29% sylfs.
(28) Of the 396 pupils in the total sample, 69% said they hoped to go on to university.

Syllabus-bound pupils were significantly more likely to be going on to university in the total sample, and in the sample of girls, but not among the boys only.(29) However, of the forty boys not expecting to attend a university, only six were syllabus-bound. Only a small number of the girls were intending to go to a College of Education but half of those who do are syllabus-free.(30) Syllabus-bound students, both boys and girls, are less likely to be planning to go straight out to work when they leave school, or to be undecided about their intentions.(31)

Study-habits and Girls' Schools

The results of this work on the different future plans of the syllabus-bound and free students, summarised above, suggested a relationship between academic success and conformity in some girls' schools. In those girls' schools which I had sampled, academic success, and the consequent decision to go on into further education, were

(29) In the total sample p < .01, n = 212. Among girls only p < .01, n = 91.
(30) The normal preparation for most types of teaching in Scotland is a degree, Ordinary for primary teaching and the old junior secondaries, Honours for the senior secondaries. Consequently many intending teachers would go to university rather than to a College of Education. The 20 girls in this sample going to colleges were, therefore, intending to teach non-academic subjects, like domestic science or PE, or to teach infants. 10 of the 20 were syllabus-free, 4 syllabus bound and 6 intermediates.
(31) 17 pupils said they were going straight out to work, 7 sylfs and 2 sylbs. 27 pupils said they did not know what they were going to do when they left, 11 sylfs and 4 sylfs.

closely related to being syllabus-bound rather than syllabus-free. There were girls in the top streams of these schools intending to go on into further education who were syllabus-free, but they were much rarer than academically successful, syllabus-free boys.

Conclusions to the 1968/69 Study

At the end of the 1969 study there seemed to be two possible directions in which to carry on the work. One direction implied using the sylb/sylf inventory predominantly as an instrument for studying how different institutions produced different scoring patterns; as a measure of 'environmental press', (Backman and Secord, 1968). This would have involved a 'cross-cultural' study of different schools (or colleges) and the collection of large amounts of data on the natures of those schools, their staff and pupils. (A study, in fact, close to that suggested by Lambert et al., 1970.)

At the time (August, 1969) I concluded that 'I do not think, however, that the sylb/sylf inventory is really suited to a large scale study on these lines'. (Delamont, 1969, p. 19.) The alternative direction for future research was suggested by the continuation of that conclusion, viz. 'The strength of the sylb/sylf dimension lies in its usefulness for comparing individuals in the same study situations' - that is back in the same kind of study for which it was originally developed by Parlett at MIT, (Parlett, 1967).

This second conclusion clearly implied an in-depth research project conducted in a small number of institutions rather than a large scale project. The rest of this chapter shows how a research project conducted in one school was conceived and planned; and outlines the major developments which have followed from it.

The final conclusion to the 1969 research report ended 'the only conclusion which can properly be drawn (so far) ... is that the variable is <u>much more dependent</u> on the interaction between an individual and his environment than was first supposed, and further research will have to take this into account', (Delamont, 1969 p. 20, emphasis added). This interaction between the individual and his or her educational environment is the subject to which the rest of the thesis is devoted.

SECTION 2 - SINCE 1969: THE STUDY OF INTERACTIONS

In this section the Edinburgh research with the sylb/sylf inventory since the study described above is discussed, together with the historical development of the main thesis project. At the end of the section the model, which seeks to integrate all the aspects of the research, is outlined, to explain how the rest of the thesis fits together.

Firstly, the 1969 study had shown that the sylb/sylf inventory produced some interesting results when used with samples of Scottish pupils, and as such it was worth continuing to use it. Consequently the inventory has been

used with further samples of pupils from different schools, in conjunction with other projects.(32) There had, however, arisen some doubts in my own mind about the extent to which the inventory was measuring attitudes towards work, as compared to actual study behaviour, in the case of the Scottish pupils because of their relative lack of room for manoeuvre in the scholastic context.

The secondary school pupils I had studied, though of similar ages to the English sixth-formers sampled by Hudson, were studying a very different kind of curriculum, which could be expected to affect their work styles. The seven or eight 'Highers' subjects necessitated taking at least one or two subjects in which they had little involvement, and spending much more time (compared to the English sixth former) in teacher-directed classwork. For instance, Hudson's sample clearly had freedom to behave differently in matters such as note-taking. Scottish pupils, on the other hand, frequently wrote next to item 6 ('I take fewer notes than most of my classmates') comments such as 'The teacher dictates most of our notes' or 'Everyone has the same notes given'. In these conditions

(32) Since the initial testing, a further 214 pupils between 14 and 17 have completed the inventory, including 80 girls, and two more schools were visited. The finding about the wide variety of mean scores across different schools held good. In one study, concerned with boys' attitudes towards computer-assisted instruction in foreign languages, the sylb/sylf inventory produced a significant correlation between reaction to the computer and general work style. Sylbs were significantly more likely to enjoy a very highly structured, directive CAI programme than sylfs. ($p = .05$, n 28) (see Delamont, 1972b)

the item becomes, at best, the indication of an attitude rather than a behavioural statement.

Visits to a dozen Scottish schools and interviews with many teachers have confirmed my belief that there are a variety of factors which lead to a higher level of restriction on Scottish pupils' academic freedom. Having two major sets of public exams in two years; taking many more subjects at a less detailed level; and having to get 'good' grades across all of them for entry to higher education being the chief causes.(33) Pupils have little time left for following up special interests, background reading and the other features of study style which characterise the sylf. Syllabus-free pupils respond to the inventory that they tend to do these things, and wish they could do them, not that they actually do. All this meant that, whereas in England, and in America, the inventory was tapping differences in behaviour and attitude, in Scotland it was largely only catching the latter. Some further research in Scotland into the concept of syllabus-freedom in another sphere was indicated. The

(33) Many pupils in the type of school concerned in my research do take one or two English 'A' levels at eighteen, but as there is only one year in which to cover thesyllabus, which is often very different, the teachers again have to 'cram' to get through the work. The leisurely pace of the English sixth form, with the possibility of background reading and discussion, is lost. The Scottish certificate of 'sixth year studies' produces classes with more pupil freedom, but is taken less commonly in the schools with which I was concerned. Both 'A' levels and '6th year studies' are only taken by minorities of pupils, and it would not be possible to draw samples of any size from classes taking them in any one school.
(All the above is based on observation in 4 schools other than St Luke's.)

The search for such a sphere implied either moving down the school system (in age terms) beyond the range of public exams (i.e. into the primary school); or up into higher education (Cregeen, forthcoming); or into a different area of pupils' scholastic experience where individual style has freer rein. One such area is the classroom itself.

The pupil's freedom for maneouvre in the traditional secondary classroom is, of course, extremely limited in terms of physical movement, direction of conversation and so on. However, in one sphere, public interaction with the teacher, the pupil has considerable opportunity for exercising choice. Apart from the possibility of initiating interactions with the teacher, the pupil has some freedom in teacher controlled interactions. If the teacher relies on volunteers the pupil can choose whether or not to answer and, even in a class run on oral drill and practice, the pupil can always stay silent when called upon - silence being her last freedom.

The ways in which pupils operated in the classroom - where they had certain freedom to maneouvre - seemed a fruitful area in which to look for behavioural differences between sylbs and sylfs.(34) Once this decision had been taken - to focus on the classroom - the rest of the research design grew round it.

(34) In the event this decision was amply justified, as the results given in Chapter 7 show. Sylbs and sylfs did behave differently in the classroom at St Luke's.

Firstly, I realised that focusing on classroom discourse would allow me to look at the problems of teaching style and pupil style - their interrelationships could be studied. Also, I could see whether pupils' work-styles changed from one subject and one teacher to another in any observable manner. Once I had thought of these topics, the literature of the systematic observation tradition became relevant, and I turned to it for guidance.

Reading this literature led directly to the third strand of my design being incorporated. As I read, I became aware of the complete disjunction between the systematic observation research, and the unstructured variety, outlined in the previous chapter. Trained as a social anthropologist, 'observation' to me implied the unstructured variety - I found the hostility towards it in the writings of authors like Medley and Mitzel (1963) both incomprehensible and intriguing.

I became interested in the problems of attempting some kind of integration between the two types of observation. This was a task of methodological interest in its own right; and also a necessary corollary of the decision to study 'individual work styles in the total educational environment'. Such a conclusion implied using unstructured methods, such as the symbolic interactionist approach, to discover what the individual's total educational environment consisted of.

Thus, the third research tradition was added to the

Though distant from the 'paper and pencil' inventory which started the research, in one way, it formed a natural development from it. In Frames of Mind, Hudson (1968a) had shown that several aspects of academic style, such as convergent reasoning, which had been considered fixed attributes of the individual, were in fact closely related to self perception and decisions about appropriate behaviour in different situations. If responses to paper and pencil measures were susceptible to the "subjects'" perceptions of the situation, then that situation and those self perceptions needed study. The most apt method of studying the participants' viewpoint was that of unstructured observation, the tradition of the symbolic interactionists. (i.e. Becker et al., 1961.)

Thus, at an early stage the three previously separate traditions were chosen, and the decision to integrate them taken. The next stage was to plan a practical piece of research 'in the field'; carry it through; and then to synthesize the findings. The choice of school, and precise nature of the research to be carried out were related, in as much as the feasibility of any planned project depended, in the last resort, on finding a school who would allow it to be carried out.

Planning a Study

I decided to study the third year of a girls' school, and to follow the same girls through all their lessons. I

fixed upon the third year because they are the oldest age-group not taking any public exams, yet would have chosen their '0' grade courses, and would not be taking many subjects they really disliked, as might a younger sample.(35) I felt third year pupils would be old enough to be showing a range of work styles, and to talk about their attitudes to their work, yet far enough away from public exams for the teachers to allow them to be observed - something not always welcome with pupils who are being 'crammed'.

I decided that, in order that the research should be concentrated on individual differences in work styles, a single sex school should be chosen with pupils from similar family backgrounds. The problem of social class and educational achievement is a complex one, and one which I wanted to avoid in this study. Furthermore, a school such as those described by Lacey (1970) and Hargreaves (1967) - in which there were clear differences in family background between the pupils - tends to produce a study of social class and little else. I wanted to study a school where some other differences between pupils apart from home background could be observed: in short, a school where the wood of individual differences could

(35) One computer-assisted instruction experiment with which I have since been concerned was totally 'contaminated' by the pupils' dislike of the school subject involved, which many of them intended to drop the following term, and perceived as 'useless', 'boring' and 'a complete waste of time'.

be seen apart from the social class trees. For the same reason, a single-sex school was indicated to avoid the complications of sex differences; and a selective one to avoid the problems of IQ. A girls' school seemed more likely to let a girl observer in, and the literature on British education then lacked any observational study of a girls' school.(36)

Choosing a School

With these provisos in mind I visited all the academically selective, one-class girls' schools in Edinburgh, discussed research with the headmistresses, and observed a handful of lessons in each of them. On the basis of these visits - together with the information gained from giving the sylb/sylf inventory to different samples - two schools, closely similar in size, composition, and willingness to co-operate, were chosen for the main part of the study. These schools, The Laurels and St Luke's, were well suited for studying the subtle variables, which are swamped in a school facing conflict between teacher and pupil such as that described by Hargreaves and Lacey.

The Pilot Study

During the last part of 1969 I did fieldwork at

(36) Since then, Mallory Wober's (1971) study has appeared.

Laurels, where I taught myself the systematic observation technique (that of Flanders) which I had chosen; evolved a series of categories for classifying public pupil contributions to lessons; and clarified my ideas about what constituted dependent and independent behaviour in the classrooms of that type of school. At The Laurels I followed the same group of girls throughout all their lessons, and thus set the pattern for one of the main ways in which my research, because of its concentration on the individual and the classroom, differs from most previous studies of classroom interaction. The majority of studies using systematic observation techniques draw a sample of teachers matched for subject taught and grade level, and these teachers are then observed for a set time, such as one hour, every Friday for one term, or in some other fixed arrangement, leaving themselves open to the criticism that they do not pay attention to the developing relation between class and teacher over time.(37) Most studies done, in-depth, on one class have taken place in schools where the pupils face the same teacher throughout the day. (i.e. Jackson, 1968 and Smith and Geoffrey, 1968.) The research done with the whole school as its focus, such as Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970), may concentrate on one year group of pupils. However it glides over their different classroom experiences with different teachers in favour of a generalised statement about their experience,

(37) Smith & Geoffrey (1968) and Walker and Adelman (1972) base much of their criticism of systematic observation on this point.

enlivened with anecdotes. The study I planned was clearly different because I followed the same girls through all their subjects, watching them with a range of different teachers, and concentrating on their classroom experience.

The Main Project - St Luke's

During the Easter term following my field work at The Laurels, I carried out the major field work on which this thesis is based, at another school, St Luke's. I visited St Luke's immediately before the half-term holiday, and administered two questionnaires, one on basic personal information, the other the sylb/sylf inventory. (See Appendix 3.)(38) The list of pupils in the third year, the timetable and staff list were also collected, and I had lunch with the girls to begin the informal contacts. After the half-term the proper field work began. I spent the second half of the school term observing at St Luke's, and then the girls were interviewed in their Easter holiday. In detail, I spent seven complete weeks in the school (or 35 school days) from 9.0 till 4.0. I therefore attended 280 lessons, and spent 35 'breaks' and 35 lunches and lunch-

(38) The sylb/sylf inventory was put in a sealed envelope until after the fieldwork period was over, so that knowledge of the girls' scores would not affect my observation. The material from the other questionnaire was used to familiarise myself with the girls' names, which subject 'sets' they were in, which optional 'O' grade subjects they had chosen, and what they did outside the school, ready to identify them when I came to school, and know what questions to ask in their interviews when they took place.

hours, with the girls or the staff. The results obtained with this observation are described in the rest of the thesis.

SECTION 3 - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Understanding the events which take place in the classroom is a formidable task - so far it has defeated researchers from many areas of social science. Too much occurs, and everything is too complicated. In this section I want to outline the particular theoretical and explanatory framework which I have used to 'explain' classroom interaction in Chapter 10.

The main body of this thesis (Chapter 3 to 9) contains little theoretical material. This is a deliberate device on my part. I am aware, for example, that 'plundering' three traditionally distinct fields for methods is an act with profound theoretical consequences, but a discussion of these consequences is held over until the end of the thesis.

My reasons for organising the thesis in this fashion are straightforward. The explanatory framework, which has evolved in the course of the research, post-dates - in its final form - most of the collection and analysis of the data. The framework has emerged in the course of the study: the study did not evolve from it. It therefore seems logical (as well as honest) to present the framework at the end; and not to attempt a reconstruction

of the earlier chapters in order to incorporate it throughout the thesis. To do so would have been not only to present a false picture of the development of the research; but it would have tended to suggest that the emerging, and still tentative framework proposed was more of a finished, formal model, than is warrented at the current stage of classroom research.

The last section of this chapter presents a brief summary of the guidelines along which the framework is constructed - a brief foreshadowing of Chapter 10. In Chapter 10 I argue that classroom processes can best be understood via an adaptation of the work of the symbolic interactionists. The underlying idea is that classroom interaction, like other social situations, is socially constructed, via negotiations between the actors. To understand how social negotiations take place, and who participates in them, certain information about the social situation has to be available. I propose four headings, under which the main aspects of any situated negotiation can be organised. These headings are intended as convenient labels, not as mutually exclusive categories nor as an exhaustive analysis.

The four headings which are proposed are as follows:

1) The Setting of the Interaction - physical, historical, educational and institutional.
2) The Resources brought to any Negotiation - knowledge, power, status etc.
3) The Perspectives of the Participants - group, sub-group and individual perspectives.

4) The Strategies employed during Negotiations - classroom speech patterns are emphasised.

These four headings cover topics dealt with dealt with throughout the following six chapters. Chapter 3 concentrates on setting and the perspectives and resources of the staff of St Luke's. Chapter 4 introduces the girls, with their resources, and their peer-group and family backgrounds are discussed - important material on perspectives is introduced here. Chapter 5 presents information on the girls' academic perspectives, and on the educational 'setting' in which the St Luke's classroom exists. Chapters 6 and 7 discuss strategies employed in the classroom by staff and pupils; and 8 and 9 analyse individuals - using their perspectives, resources and settings to explain their classroom strategies. Chapter 10 then serves as the summit of the thesis, discussing the theoretical framework, and illustrating it with analyses of critical incidents from field-notes.

CHAPTER 3

ST LUKE'S

The School - Social Context, Institutional Control and Staffing

'To the Lords of the Camus, 'twas Girton who cried,
"You call me a College, but one thing's denied;
Then let each fusty don feel his duty to be,
That women should speedily get the degree."
For Girton has shown us again and again
That her students can equal, nay distance the men.'

(Girton College Songs, p. 7)

Introduction

This chapter introduces the reader to St Luke's, the school in which the major part of the research was carried out. The school is discussed against the background of the Scottish education system, and its origins in nineteenth century feminism are explained. Then, in the light of this material, the aims and organisational arrangements of the present day school are discussed. In keeping with the general theme of the thesis, conformity, particular emphasis is placed on the nature of institutional control at St Luke's, seen in relation to other studies of British schools. Finally, the teachers of St Luke's are introduced, with special weight placed on their professional status and classroom roles. Thus the chapter serves both to provide contextual material for the subsequent chapters on the pupils and to discuss some of the institutional variables which are relevant to an analysis of classroom processes.

The Social Setting

St Luke's School is an independent, girls' public school in Edinburgh, a city with a population approaching 500,000, whose universities and fee-paying schools also serve a large hinterland of small towns and rural areas. This surrounding area contains both heavy and light industry, mining and agricultural land, while the city has little industry and is mainly a centre for regional administration, and bureaucratic concerns such as banking, law and insurance. Because of the relative lack of industry in the city its population has a higher proportion of white-collar and professional workers than the Scottish population as a whole, a fact which has consequences for the whole education system in the city including St Luke's.

In general, Scotland has only a small percentage of its pupils in any type of fee-paying school, compared with England and Wales. In 1968 about 6%, or one pupil in 17, attended schools where fees were paid.(1) As one might expect, the fee-payers were not distributed evenly throughout Scotland, but concentrated in the urban areas. Edinburgh then had 24% of its pupils in a fee-paying school of some type, of whom about 8% were in independent schools. Of course, this high proportion of pupils attending independent schools is a function of the large number of

(1) This 6% were divided about equally between local authority fee-paying schools, direct-grant schools, and the 123 independent schools. (Highet, 1969; Kellas, 1968.)

professional and managerial workers resident there.

The 123 independent schools in Scotland are about equally divided between those which are only kindergarten or junior schools, and those which are wholly or partly secondary. Among the sixty-odd secondary schools are 15 independent 'public' schools; eight boys' schools belonging to the Headmasters' Conference, and seven girls' schools belonging to the Governing Bodies of Girls Schools Association.(2) (Highet, 1969; Ollerenshaw, 1967.) St Luke's is one of the largest of the Scottish girls' public schools, having an enrollment of over 600 pupils in 1970, with approximately 350 of them in the senior school. The majority of these pupils are day girls, living in or near the city, but the school has a small boarding house for seniors.(3)

The girls who attend St Luke's come from upper-middle-class homes; their fathers' occupations fall into the top category of the Registrar General's classification scheme, being predominantly jobs in the professions and the higher echelons of management. This uniformity is one inevitable result of the fees charged.(4)

(2) In Scotland, as in England, a few direct-grant schools belong to the HMC or the GBGSA, but these are not included in my figures here, which refer to fully independent schools only.
(3) The main entry to the boarding house is at the age of eleven, although a few girls are taken at nine. The relationships between the boarders and the day girls is discussed in the next chapter.
(4) At the time of my study it cost £100 per term to keep a girl in the senior part of the school, with boarding house fees doubling the bill. This is considerably more than the direct-grant schools in the city were charging at the time, but fairly similar to the fees at the other independent secondary schools as far as I could discover them.

When seen against the educational pattern of the whole of Scotland, then, St Luke's is an anomaly - a fee-paying, independent girls' public school in a country of free, state co-education. However, in Edinburgh it was only one of several schools, both direct-grant and independent, which served an unusually large middle and upper-middle class community in the city and its environs.

Historical Background

Historically, St Luke's had its origin in the latter half of the nineteenth century when what Mallory Wober has termed 'energetic feminist educators' were 'determined to give girls as good an opportunity as boys had, and to show that girls could do as well as boys'. (Wober, 1971. p. 34.) Indeed the actual founding of St Luke's, like that of North London Collegiate and Cheltenham Ladies' College, was an important landmark in the struggle for equal educational opportunities for girls. Pupils from the school were among the first women to enter universities and the professions in Britain, and many of them, in their turn, became pioneers of further educational developments for girls in Britain and the Empire. To quote the official history of the school:

> 'Very early in the career of (the school) an old student went as Assistant Mistress to the Trafalgar Institute, Montreal, and by 1900 St Luke's was represented in India, China, Africa, as well as Canada, Constantinople, Geneva, England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland.'

The founders of St Luke's were in constant touch with Emily Davies at Girton,(5) Miss Buss in London and Miss Beale in Cheltenham, and participated in their various campaigns. Most of these pioneers have written their memoirs, or received detailed biographical attention, and there have been several histories of the movement, and so I do not intend to go into great detail about the historical aspects of St Luke's here.(6) It is, however, worth examining, briefly, the situation in which the struggle took place, and some contemporary comments on it, because it seems so remote from - and yet so similar to - the present day situation.

Today it is difficult to imagine newspapers seriously suggesting that offering courses in Algebra or Greek would put girls in danger of lunacy. Yet in 1863 Emily Davies was forced to take the argument at its face value and combat it with the following declamation:

> 'Women are expected to learn something of arithmetical science, and who shall say at what point they are to stop? Why should simple equations brighten their intellects, and quadratic equations drive them into a lunatic asylum? ... Why should Latin give them a deeper

(5) Girton was the first Oxbridge college for women, and received pupils from, and sent teachers to, St Luke's right from their respective foundations.
(6) See, for example, Grant et al, 1927; Steadman, 1931; Lumsden, 1933; Welsh, 1939; Clarke, 1953; Kamm, 1958; and Bradbrook, 1969.

> insight into the philosophy of language ... and the language of the New Testament be forbidden, as too exhausting a labour, a toil fruitful only of imbecility or death?'
> (quoted in Kamm, 1958. p. 93.)

The early feminists had very little freedom to manoeuvre between their desires to establish girls' education on the basis of the same curricula and examinations as boys', to prevent girls being permanently confined within an inferior system of their own; and the need to keep the support of Victorian parents, many of whom were suspicious of anything which looked intellectually demanding.(7) The history of St Luke's suggests that its establishment was less stormy than that of some of the other schools, but even so, its founders had to face the same dilemmas.

The existence of a distinguished and militant past was still a relevant part of the atmosphere and outlook of the school, when I undertook my research there, almost a century later. Wober implies that the influence of the Victorian pioneers in today's schools is confined to the fact that 'several of the present heads of girls' schools were trained directly by, or in the spirit of, these turn-of-the-century educationalists'. (Wober, 1971. p. 34-5)

(7) Girls were frequently taken away from Cheltenham because their parents thought they were being taught too much arithmetic, and not enough conversational French or music. (Kamm, 1958.)

This may have been true of the schools in his sample, but the tradition at St Luke's is more potent, and less anachronistic, than his dismissal implies.

St Luke's Today

The school's prospectus states firmly that St Luke's ... 'has always aimed at providing a liberal education and maintaining the pioneering spirit of its founders', and I found this to be more than a pious platitude. Many of the staff, as well as the headmistress, had known people taught by the pioneers, or had actually met those among the redoubtable ladies who survived into the nineteen thirties. It would be wrong to give the impression that either the staff or the pupils felt themselves to be still fighting the same battles, but there was a strong consciousness of belonging to an institution with a long record of high academic achievement leading to the professions.(8)

The published prospectus, then, states that the primary aims of St Luke's are feminist and intellectual. These are followed by a list of more nebulous aims, such as fostering 'mental alertness, self-confidence, consider-

(8) In conversation with the headmistress I once made a remark to the effect that I thought there might still be girls' schools which prepared girls for nothing but 'coming out' and then marriage. She replied that she found it hard to believe any parents accepting that as a sufficient education for their daughters today! Then she added that 'of course' St Luke's had 'always believed in fitting girls for careers', so the recent trend towards married women working had not forced any real changes on the school.

ation for others, physical fitness and an appreciation of beauty'. This part of the statement of aims sounds very similar to Wober's published analysis of twenty prospectuses, which he surveyed to discover the schools' publically stated goals. (Wober, 1971. p. 54.) He found that 'developing social responsibility' was mentioned most frequently, followed closely by encouraging 'individual fulfilment' and 'providing an all-round education'. Less commonly mentioned aims were instilling good behaviour, preparation for careers, fostering individual happiness and inculcating Christian precepts.

In contrast to the most commonly stated aims of Wober's sample, then, St Luke's has a greater emphasis on educational achievement but expresses a similar range of goals in the general area of social responsibility and individual fulfilment. In his rather verbose chapter on the goals of his sample, Wober enquires rhetorically:

> ...'how should one interpret the gilt-lettered list on panelled walls of old girls entered, some with scholarships, at Oxbridge? The interpretation of such signs and symbols offers tempting possibilities for the visitor...' (p. 55.)

At St Luke's the correct interpretation of the honours boards is the obvious one - high academic achievement in a conventional sphere is the best method by which to add to the school's traditions, and the finest individual success available. Many girls' schools are slightly self-conscious about aiming for high scholastic goals, but

St Luke's is not, and the existence of the historical tradition is clearly one factor in this.

The academic atmosphere of St Luke's is evident from the curriculum which all the girls take. The school presents its pupils for the SCE 'O' grade examinations at sixteen, SCE 'Highers' at seventeen, and then offers English 'A' level courses and preparation for Oxbridge scholarship examinations for those who want to go to an English university. All the girls are expected to sit at least six subjects at 'O' grade, and the majority stay at school until they are seventeen, and take a range of 'Highers' examinations. Most of the girls then go into some form of further education or training, with a high proportion taking university courses.(9)

The range of 'O' grade courses available to the girls is more adaptive than most of those discussed by Pont and Butcher (1968) in their study of courses offered in seventeen senior secondary schools. In addition there is the possibility of starting additional courses in the sixth year, which reduced the effects of the inevitable early specialisation, as I found when I asked my sample about their choice of subjects. St Luke's is strong in the more traditional academic fields, offering four modern

(9) 27 girls out of 41 in my sample said they hoped to go to university, compared with 16 out of 52 in the equivalent year at The Laurels. Further education intentions and subject specialisation are discussed in Chapter 5.

languages, classics and a full scientific course, all taught by a well-qualified staff. However, the school was weak in the social sciences,having only two teachers of History and two of Geography for the senior girls, and failing to provide any courses in Economics or Modern Studies at the time of my research.

Apart from this 'academic' curriculum, St Luke's offers a formidable range of other activities. Within the normal school day there are conventional art and music lessons, and the traditional sports and games: hockey, lacross, gymnastics, cricket, tennis and swimming. Outside the ordinary timetable, arrangements are made for girls to ride, skate, fence, ski and play badminton and golf. Surprisingly perhaps, despite all this, the general atmosphere of the school is not very 'hearty'.(10) I found that team games were relatively unpopular in the senior forms, except among the boarders, for whom playing in school teams is an 'escape' from the boarding house. Girls did derive enjoyment from the more individualistic sports such as skating and riding, but I found none of the 'jolly-hockey sticks' atmosphere prevalent in caricatures of girls' public schools.

(10) Leisure activities are discussed in some detail in the next chapter. The members of one friendship group in particular objected strongly to all team games, (they are Clique 5, and are introduced in the next chapter) and so did several individuals in other groups.

St Luke's also has a wide range of non-sporting soeieties, covering most of the usual activities of school clubs, from chess and debating to drama and Scottish dancing. In the area of the arts music predominates, with every girl being encouaged to play an instrument and sing. At the time of my study (1970) there were thirteen part-time visiting music staff, in addition to the four full-time ones, compared with four full-time games staff, one full-time art teacher, and one visiting drama teacher. The range of instruments offered is very wide for a girls' school, including all the woodwind and brass instruments as well as the conventional strings and piano. This meant that the school had a full orchestra, rather than the 'string and woodwind' orchestra normal in girls' schools.

The building which houses all these activities dates originally from before the first world war, although it has been enlarged substantially since then. The school stands in its own playing fields, on a rather bleak hill-top in an otherwise pleasant residential suburb of the city.(11)

New pupils can enter St Luke's at three main stages in their school careers, at five, at nine, and at eleven. At age five entrance is conditional on the results of tests and an interview, and about 20-25 places are available. Another twenty odd places are provided for nine-year-olds,

(11) The boarders live in several large houses in this suburb, within a few minutes walk of the school, but separate from its grounds.

and another twenty or so at age eleven, in both cases entrance being dependent on competitive examinations in different school subjects. A few boarding places are available for girls entering at nine, but the majority of boarders come to the school at eleven. Like all the academically and socially reputable schools in the city, St Luke's is oversubscribed, and can well afford to be academically selective within the social class group from which its entrants come.(12)

In 1970, when I was at St Luke's, the senior school contained about 350 pupils, aged from eleven to eighteen. Each age group, or year, was divided into, to quote the prospectus... 'genuinely parallel classes covering the same syllabus, containing the same mixture of able and less able children and aiming at the same standard of work'. The year I studied contained only two forms, but because of the policy of expansion that was under way, the lower years contained about seventy girls in three forms. These parallel forms gradually cease to be the main <u>teaching</u> groups as the girls get older, and are replaced by 'sets' for individual subjects based on ability in that subject.

(12) Highet's apologia for the Scottish fee-paying schools contains a section on the tension and bad feeling caused by the enormous demand for places in Edinburgh's fee-paying schools. He interviewed mothers who described scenes of near hysteria when the lists of successful five-year-olds come out. (Highet, 1969.)

The Sample of Pupils

The particular sample I studied were aged 14 to 15, that is they were in their third year of the normal Scottish secondary school course. This meant that they had already chosen their '0' grade courses, and begun to specialise in some subjects to the exclusion of others.(13) The average size of the forms in the senior school was 24 in 1970, but my sample were in two 'below average' sized groups of 21 and 22 girls. The 'sets' for the main subjects in the curriculum contained half the year, and were the same size as the forms, but the teaching groups in the optional subjects, such as Physics, Latin, and Spanish, were often much smaller, and were not necessarily based on ability.

Streaming and Setting

Many studies have shown the 'self-fulfilling' effects of streaming on pupil achievements, both at primary and secondary levels. (e.g. Douglas, 1964; Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1970.) There is little or no work published on the effects of systems like that of St Luke's, which is an intermediate one between streaming and genuinely mixed ability teaching. One of the problems examined in the rest of this thesis is the extent to which this more

(13) Subject specialisation is less severe in Scotland than in England, but the pupils still have to drop some subjects at the age of thirteen. (Pont and Butcher, 1968.)

flexible setting system prevents the polarisation in attitudes to academic work caused by orthodox streaming.(14)

Institutional Control

The aspect of a school which is, perhaps, the hardest to capture, is the amount of discipline, or more generally, of institutional control, which exists within it. Lambert and his associates have developed scales on which an observer can measure the amount of institutional control in different schools, but these were designed specifically for boys' boarding schools, and so were not suitable for my research at St Luke's.(15) (Lambert et al., 1970.) Many writers have claimed that girls' schools have a particularly repressive atmosphere; indeed Liam Hudson has gone so far as to talk of 'the draconian quality of girls' education in this country'. (Hudson, 1968. p. 24.) However, if a high degree of institutional control does commonly exist in girls' schools - and there is evidence that it does (Dale, 1969) - it does not take the same form as control in the boys' boarding schools as itemized by Lambert. Hardly surprisingly, the rules in girls' schools do not impose compulsory CCF and haircuts, and the invasions of individual privacy do not include un-

(14) The profiles of Nancy and Yvonne, given in Chapter 9, bear on this point.
(15) Mallory Wober did use a modified version of these scales for his research in girls' boarding schools, but he did not publish any of his revised items, nor a range of the scores which his sample obtained. (Wober, 1971.)

lockable lavatories and the vettings of friendships with juniors. Where harsh regulations and invasions of privacy do exist in girls' schools they are rather different in kind, and as Wober's objective techniques were unavailable, I have dealt with discipline rather more discursively in the succeeding pages.

There is, however, one large-scale study of the effects of mixed or single-sex schooling in which one area considered was that of institutional control. (Dale, 1969.) Dale surveyed a wide range of people in different spheres of education, including a sub-sample of 620 girl students in Colleges of Education who had attended both a mixed and a single-sex school. This sub-sample were asked to comment on the discipline in the two schools they had attended, and compare them. The results of this part of Dale's research lend some support to the idea that single-sex girls' schools are stricter with their pupils than mixed schools.

The comments on the degree and type of discipline produced by this sample of girls are given in great detail by Dale. In summary it is clear that the students were more likely to say that the rules were more 'reasonable' and 'necessary' in their mixed school, in contrast to the rules in their single-sex school which were seen as 'severe',

'unduly regimental', 'trivial' and 'unnecessary'.(16) Girls were particularly likely to say that their single-sex school was too strict about personal appearance and out-of-school behaviour, and they produced numerous examples of extreme pettiness, as the following quotes show:(17)

> 'It was petty - being extremely strict. Silence was observed <u>everywhere</u>, at <u>all</u> times - even at break. You must put your left hand on the bannister going up and coming down the stairs; if you walked on the correct side with an armful of books not holding the bannisters, then you were sent back in order to come down properly.'
>
> 'You weren't allowed to talk to boys, you mustn't work in Woolworths.'
>
> 'Absolutely ridiculous. If nails were long they had to be cut. No carrying satchels on shoulders. Same hairstyle all term etc.'
>
> 'Rules covered four noticeboards. Fear was discipline.'

(16) Summarizing the figures given in Table 9:2 from Dale (1969): the co-ed schools got 125 votes for reasonable school rules, while the single-sex ones got only 44 votes. Against this the co-ed schools were only criticised for severe, unnecessary rules by 66 girls, while 269 girls said their single-sex schools were too severe. Dale says of these results: 'What do the girl ex-pupils think?... the estimates for their co-educational schools are well-balanced around the mid-point "satisfactory" ... The girls' schools contrast very sharply... as many as 61 per cent of the students thinking the discipline in their... school was too strict.

The differences between the comments on the co-educational and girls' schools are so great that they are highly unlikely to have occurred by chance.' (p. 165.)

(17) These quotes are drawn from Chapter 9 of Dale, 1969. p. 171-174.

> 'Even the third year sixth were marched everywhere and had someone sitting with them during free lessons.'
>
> 'There were so many rules not a day went past without us all being punished for breaking one of them.'

Dale puts forward three main reasons for the stricter discipline in girls' schools; the 'natural' tendency of women to be conscientious to the point of fussiness, and the desire of the staff to make 'ladies' of their pupils, both tendencies which are accentuated by the high proportion of older, spinster teachers on the staffs of single-sex schools. Dale produces no data to substantiate these 'reasons', and in fact misses the point that both the fussiness and the insistence on appropriate behaviour are merely the present day symptoms of the fundamental dilemma which has existed for those involved in women's education since the feminist beginnings; namely double conformity.

Double Conformity and Girls' Schools

The problem of double conformity has been with girls' education since Victorian days. I have already mentioned the contradictory demands which were placed upon the early educationalists in this chapter. Briefly, they were forced to educate their pupils in accordance with two different sets of standards, both externally

imposed, and not easily combined. Bradbrook, describing Emily Davies's standards for her students, explains the two perfectly:

> 'Her young ladies were to behave like young ladies, while at the same time they were to omit nothing, absolutely nothing, from their course of study which was required of (the male) undergraduates'
>
> (Bradbrook, 1969. p. 6.)

In other words the tradition which grew up in the early girls' schools and colleges, and lingers there to this day, was one of rigid adherence to the norms of ladylike behaviour current in society, and equally rigid conformity to the academic standards set for the men of the time. One essential part of ladylike behaviour then was fragile feminity, so that when arranging a meeting to campaign for the opening of local examinations to girls Emily Davies put 'three lovely girls ... in the front row, (and) no-one who looked "strong-minded" was to be given any prominence, but Elizabeth Garret would be very useful, for she looked "exactly like one of those girls whose instinct is to do what you tell them." ...' (Bradbrook, 1969. p. 16.)

Thus, imbued with the desire to compete for equal educational goals on equal terms, yet unable to shake off the fear of being characterised as unladylike, or worse still, unfeminine, the women running girls' education fell into the trap of being doubly conformist.

This conflict between two sets of pressures still exists at a personal level for many girls. In the decade following the second world war American social psychologists found college girls were worried that academic success would spoil their relationships with men, and engaged in various subterfuges to keep their two worlds apart. (Wallin, 1950 and Komarovsky, 1946.) Little research was conducted on the issue in the next fifteen years, but recent studies have shown that the dilemmas still exist for the succeeding generation. (See, for example, Narek, 1970; Horner, 1971; and Friedan, 1965.) The individual problems caused by the two pressures have, therefore, been well-documented, but the results of the conflict in the girls' schools - the multiplicity of rules - have not been previously explained and demonstrated.(18)

The strictness of the regime in a single-sex school will partly depend on the teachers' perceptions of the social background and ability of the intake. The staff of St Luke's perceive their pupils as coming from homes where they will automatically be trained to be ladies, and mostly emphasised academic matters. In contrast, the teachers in a London girls' secondary modern school described by Eileen Moody appeared to have abandoned their

(18) The conflicting norms operate on a personal level in mixed schools, but are not so institutionalised as they are in single-sex ones. See, for example, Rainone et al. (1970) and Dvorkin (1970).

academic functions in favour of concentrating on matters of dress and deportment. (Moody, 1968.) Between these extremes there are probably schools where the staff see the pupils as coming from homes where they will not be taught correct behaviour, but who also need to pass exams, and here one would expect to find a very high degree of institutional control.

Eileen Moody described an atmosphere of 'overwhelming pettiness' over matters of personal appearance in a school where:

> 'There was the teacher in the habit of stopping girls with short skirts and unravelling them herself, at the waist - in public. There was the ban on jewellery because, as one teacher explained, it looked "cheap". Maybe it was: cheaper than hers. There was the continual nagging about uniform. And the preoccupation with make-up.'
>
> (Moody, 1968.)

Social Control at St Luke's

St Luke's did not have this degree of insistence about clothing being 'appropriate'. There was a school uniform for girls under the fifth year, but it lacked the usual paraphernalia of ties, badges, sashes and hats which are the source of most complaints and criticism.(19)

(19) The boarders were free to change into their own clothes in the evenings, and there were no restrictions about what sort of garments they chose. When I interviewed them in the boarding house their clothes ranged from twinsets through jeans to pyjamas without any comment from the staff. At weekends they were allowed into the city in their own clothes, complete with 'maxis' and make-up.

However, some staff did 'pick on' girls about their hair or deportment, and some of the girls complained of being unduly restricted in those areas.(20) There were certainly rules about talking and running in the corridors, the dining hall and such like, but not all the staff and prefects bothered with them. However, some girls had strong views about their irrelevance and annoyance. One girl, Olivia, replied to my interview question 'What makes a girl unpopular with the staff?' as follows:

> 'Not doing prep- if you are naughty - break the rules - all those petty little things like running in the corridor - little stupid rules like not talking before grace at lunch.'

Another girl, Vanessa, suggested that there were two types of teacher, those who... 'if you see them in the corridor and you're doing something wrong, they take no notice - but others - they get angry about things that are nothing to do with school work.' The particular example she gave me concerned a mistress who found her putting up a poster and selling tickets for a dance and took both away from her until the following Friday. Vanessa complained that the dance was 'nothing to do with my French, but she told me off next lesson too', and this was regarded as particularly unfair.

(20) This complaint was voiced most often by girls in one Clique, (No. 2) who are described in the next chapter. Eight of the 12 girls in this group explicitly mentioned that they thought there were unnecessary rules. One member, Olivia, 'scived' from games for three weeks during my research and suffered about six hours detentions in consequence.

One clique of friends felt strongly that certain staff were too strict about 'all these petty little things' and they were those girls most involved in activities which could loosely be seen as belonging to an adolescent, commercial, pop-based sub-culture.(21) They perceived, quite accurately, that some staff disapproved of the way they spent their spare time, (in coffee-bars, discotheques, and at mixed parties) and felt that these teachers picked on them in school for their out-of-school behaviour.(22)

Teacher disapproval of adolescent leisure behaviour is a common feature of the literature. Hargreaves found disapproval of youth culture among the staff of Lumley Secondary School, but there it was almost universal. His study took place just as long hair was becoming fashionable among ordinary schoolboys, and the majority of the masters at Lumley reacted violently:

> 'Lengthy, informal discussions took place in the Staff Room and over lunch. The most vociferous members of staff were strongly opposed to jeans and long hair, and expressed their opinion in no uncertain terms. They argued that long hair was unhygienic and encouraged the spread of lice in the school; that it was dangerous, especially in

(21) More details of this clique and its interests are given in Chapter 4.
(22) The work of Sugarman is relevant to this teacher/pupil conflict over leisure pursuits. (Sugarman, 1967.)

> in the school workshops; that it was unsightly and effeminate.'(23)
>
> (Hargreaves, 1967. p. 136.)

> 'At lunch that day a heated discussion ensued amongst the teachers. The majority agreed that long hair was a sign of anti-social behaviour and must be stamped out. Two teachers thought that long hair was a part of an adolescent phase and bore little relevance to the teacher's function.'
>
> (p. 137.)

At Lumley long hair and jeans became heavily charged symbols of revolt against the school, while (during my fieldwork) there was no single symbol which focussed similar hostility from the St Luke's staff. Instead of a majority of the staff agreeing on hostility towards manifestations of 'youth culture', the staff room at the school was the scene of friendly discussions among different groups, with varying points of view.

In general, the younger, unmarried staff sat together and their discussions of youth culture were confined to

(23) Hargreaves suggests that this last argument revealed a certain insecurity among the masters about their own sex roles. A similar insecurity might influence the views of spinster mistresses about their teenage pupils, indeed Wober (1971) suggests that it does, but in fact several of those staff who disliked pop music and modern clothes at St Luke's were married.

their own participation in it.[24] The more middle-aged staff, married and single, congregated together; and were fairly evenly divided between those who regarded teenage fashions and leisure activities as acceptable and desirable, and those who did not. On one occasion a group of staff were discussing the problems of clothing their teenage children. Some of the group proclaimed that they refused to buy their sons coloured shirts and slacks, cut their hair short, and stopped their daughters wearing maxi-length clothes and fashionable boots.[25] Other members, led by Mrs Cavendish, a Physics teacher, said how much they enjoyed following fashion, and buying 'exciting' clothes with their children.

In summary then, at the time of my fieldwork, St Luke's had a relatively relaxed atmosphere in the sphere of institutional control, with a range of different attitudes existing among the various informal groups of

(24) These staff wore very similar clothes to those chosen by their pupils and discussed pop music, parties, boyfriends and fiances, much as the girls did. Both Hargreaves and Sugarman, researching in the early sixties, saw a situation of almost unmitigated hostility between staff and pupils over youth culture, and an essential conflict between the values of the educational system and the commercial entertainment world. However, since their work was completed the audience for pop culture has increased considerably, and includes many professional people in their twenties, including teachers. The work described in Young Teachers and Reluctant Learners shows clearly that by the end of the sixties youth culture no longer necessarily formed a barrier between teachers and pupils. (Hannam et al., 1971.)

(25) These staff were also more likely to complain that the sixth-formers, (who wore their own clothes to school) looked 'scruffy' and 'unkempt'.

staff and students.[26] To understand the structure of these different informal groups, it is necessary to examine them in some detail. The next section of this chapter concentrates on the staff of the school, and the following chapter on the pupils.

The Staff of St Luke's

The senior department of St Luke's had 31 full and part time academic staff excluding the headmistress, and 10 staff for non-academic subjects, such as games, art and music, excluding the visiting teachers of specific instruments mentioned earlier.[27] Of the 31 (all female) academic staff all but one had honours degrees, and three, including Mrs Michaels, the headmistress, had doctorates. Twenty-four of the academic teachers had some form of teacher training in addition to their degree, leaving seven who were without any formal teaching qualification. Sixteen of the 31 were graduates of the city's own university, five had degrees from London, five from Oxbridge, and four from other universities in the United Kingdom.

(26) This is not to say that the staff might not all agree to condemn some aspects of their pupils' behaviour, merely that they were not united in condemnation of anything they knew of during my fieldwork.

(27) These visiting teachers were, literally, visitors to the school, and occupied a much more marginal position in the school than any of the part-time teachers of ordinary subjects, or any of the new members of staff. I think this was due partly to many of them being men, coming to a school with an all female staff, and partly to their teaching only optional subjects and not the ordinary curriculum.

All the non-academic staff had trained in the appropriate colleges in the city and were qualified to teach their various subjects. The four music teachers on the permanent staff were all single, while those of art, games and needlework were all married or engaged.(28) Among the academic staff seventeen were, or had been married, but there did not seem to be any relationship between subject taught and marital status, with each subject department having both single and married members.

The longest time any member of staff had been in the school was 24 years, while three of the academic, and two of the games staff were in their first year. The mean length of service at St Luke's in 1970 was 7.8 years for the academic and 5.6 for the non-academic teachers, though these figures disguise the fact that single teachers had a longer record of employment (9.8 years) than the married ones (5.6 years).(29)

This information looks fairly similar to the results of Wober's survey of the staff in his schools. (Wober, 1971.) However, in some ways St Luke's appears to differ from his boarding schools, though whether it is because St Luke's is predominantly a day school, or for other reasons I do not know. Wober found 'none of the twenty-three schools visited had a married headmistress with her husband present.

(28) This ignores the visiting teachers on whom I have no reliable data.
(29) The married women were also more likely to be teaching part-time; the seven part-timers were all married.

Only three had been married or divorced'. (p. 37.) In contrast to this, Mrs Michaels was married with two children, and lived near the school with her husband. Like Wober's sample, where the majority of headmistresses were Oxbridge graduates, Mrs. Michaels graduated from an Oxbridge college, but unlike them, she had a Ph.D. and had been a Fellow of a women's college before coming to Edinburgh to be head of St Luke's.

Wober collected data on the staff of his schools by anonymous questionnaire, which were only completed by between 33 and 50% of those eligible. His published results show that, on the whole, the teachers he surveyed were less well-qualified than those at St Luke's, but divided similarly between married and single women, and short and long term appointments, (p. 38-40). He found that half his respondents had been less than three years in their jobs, and quotes a headmistress as saying 'They come with a great big diamond ring, and only wait till they can put the deposit on the bungalow'. (p. 39.) At St Luke's the younger staff who got married, as four did during the six months following my field work period, tended to stay and work until they had children, rather than leave with the mortgage deeds.

Twenty-one academic and all the non-academic staff taught some or all of my sample. I observed all but eight of these thirty-one teachers, but for obvious reasons the type of observation was not always the same. The systematic

techniques were only applicable to formal, academic lessons, and so were only used there, while I acted as a participant observer during art, games and needlework lessons. Much of the work reported in Chapters 6 and 7 was based on the fourteen academic staff who were teaching large groups of girls, and who were preparing them for a public examination. These fourteen were not, as far as I can tell, significantly different from the total academic teaching body from which they came, but merely happened to be teaching the third year in 1970.(30) Table 3:1 lists all the thirty-one staff involved, and shows the subjects they taught, their approximate ages, the 'set' they had in my sample and whether or not they were observed during the research.(31) Each member of staff has a pseudonym, which I have chosen deliberately to relate to their academic subject, to help the reader remember each teacher's specialism, and in every case the marital status is also given.(32) The table shows

(30) One mistress refused me permission to observe her, the R.I. mistress left all her classes to be taught by a B.Ed. student during my visit, and two general studies topics, 'classical background' and 'history of science' were taught by staff who did not otherwise see any of my sample. None of these staff were observed at all. Several others taught very small groups of girls, 3 for German, and 7 for Spanish for instance, and I only visited these occasionally because I felt it was better to attend the larger lessons which occurred at the same time.
(31) The subject sets are labelled 'A', 'B' or 'C', except where only one group of girls took the course, in which case no letter is appended.
(32) The marital status of a teacher was one of the most salient features in the image she created among her pupils.

TABLE 3:1

Staff Included in the Study

Pseudonym	Subject	Approx. Age	Observation
Miss Napier	Maths A	Under 30	Regular
Miss Newton	Maths B	30-40	Regular
Mrs Milton	English A	Under 30	Regular
Miss Keats	English B	30-40	Regular
Miss Paris	French A	Over 40	Refused
Mrs French	French B	Over 40	Regular
Mrs Flodden	History A & C	Over 40	Regular
Mrs Bruce	History B	35-45	Regular
Mrs Hill	Geography A	Under 30	Regular
Miss Dale	Geography B & C	Over 40	Regular
Mrs Linnaeus	Biology A & B	30-40	Regular
Mrs Cavendish	Physics	Over 40	Regular
Miss Boyle	Chemistry A	Under 30	Regular
Miss Dalton	Chemistry B	35-45	Regular
Mrs Spain	Spanish	35-45	Occasional
Mrs German	German	Over 40	Occasional
Mrs Hemming	Dress and Design	Under 30	Occasional
Miss Iliad	Latin & Greek A	Over 40	Regular
Miss Odyssey	Latin B	Under 30	Occasional
Miss Knox	R.I.	30-40	Never
Mrs Raeburn	Art	Over 40	Occasional
Mrs Michaels (Headmistress)	History of Science	Over 40	Never
Mrs Ayer	Classical Background	Over 40	Never
4 Games Staff	Hockey, Lacrosse Gym and Dancing	Under 30	Regular
4 Music Staff	Class Singing & Individual Piano	Various	Never

the names of the fourteen academic staff whom I was able to observe regularly, and the four others whom I visited occasionally. It also shows those non-academic staff whose lessons I attended, and the teachers whom I did not observe at all during the research. It is clear from the table that I was able to attend classes in all the major subjects in my sample's curriculum with the exception of the 'A'division in French which Miss Paris did not allow me to see.

These teachers could, of course, be categorised in various ways, for instance according to the type of subject taught, or their age groups, or whether they were married or single. In Chapters 6 and 7 the academic staff are described and classified into 'types' according to their classroom behaviours, as coded via a systematic technique. At the same time, one must not lose sight of the teacher <u>as an individual</u>, and so Chapter 8 contains detailed profiles of individual staff members. However, as well as being individuals, and members of various overlapping sub-groups based on friendship or teaching styles or whatever, the staff have one important feature in common - their professional role or status. The rest of this chapter deals with this aspect of the St Luke's staff, and relates their professional status as a group to the classroom situation.

The Professional in the School and the Classroom

In their book on grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967) discuss their technique of 'theoretical sampling' a method of drawing samples for research which differs sharply from the statistical sampling common in social science:

> 'It is important to contrast theoretical sampling based on the saturation of categories with statistical (random) sampling. Their differences should be kept clearly in mind for both designing research and judging its credibility. ... Thus in each type of research the "adequate sampling" that we should look for (as researchers and readers of research) is very different. The adequate theoretical sample is judged on the basis of ... how the analyst chose his groups...according to the type of theory he wished to develop. The adequate statistical sample, on the other hand, is judged on the basis of techniques of random and stratified sampling.' (p. 62-63.)

St Luke's and its staff serve as two good examples of theoretical samples. By choosing to work in such a school I was deliberately choosing two arenas where certain theoretical ideas could be tested. First, I chose St Luke's because it was only in that particular type of school that particular kinds of classroom interactions can be seen. Also, the choice of St Luke's allows the study of a <u>theoretically</u> interesting sample of teachers, a group who form a 'test case' for the literature on the professions,

and its relation to school teachers.

A consideration of the permanent academic staff at St Luke's as a group, illuminates some aspects of their role as members of a 'profession'(33) and the consequences of this for their interaction with the pupils inside and outside the classroom. In the large and rapidly growing literature on 'the professions' there is a degree of consensus on the overall position of teaching. In contrast with the elite professions of medicine and law, it is seen as enjoying low status; in Etzioni's classification, it is, together with nursing and social work,a 'semi-profession'. (Etzioni, 1969.) A feature of these professions' low status is the high percentage of women members (Simpson and Simpson, 1969) and, in the case of teaching and nursing, of the large numbers of members also. (Leggatt, 1970. p. 162.)

Teaching is a highly 'segmented' occupation (cf. Bucher and Strauss, 1961) - that is, there are deep cleavages based on the level of school in which the teaching takes place (infant, primary or secondary school), the level of professional qualification (e.g. graduates versus non-graduates; honours versus ordinary graduates) and distinctions deriving from the relative status of the sector of the education system in which they work (state,

(33) I have used the term 'professional' as a form of short-hand. I do not necessarily endorse the view of those who see "the professions" as a distinct set of occupations. (e.g. Goode, 1957.)

direct grant, maintained, independent) (cf. Leggatt p. 168.). Bucher and Strauss believe that segmentation in medicine may be a source of vigour and a focus for innovation. In teaching the fragmentation of the occupation (in Britain represented by the numerous Professional Associations) appears rather to enhance its low status, and to reinfcrce what Lieberman calls its 'unorganisability'. (Lieberman, 1956.) This latter feature is also associated with the low career commitment and high rates of turnover among members.

The teacher is often seen as suffering low status with regard to the conditions of her employment and her client-relationships. Teachers as a semi-profession operate within a bureaucratic context: the majority are government employees, and in contrast with the high status professions they enjoy a relatively low degree of autonomy - as a group they have little control over recruitment to the profession or over their own practice within the organisation.

If we consider the staff of St Luke's in the light of this framework, it is clear that despite the low status of the occupation, they themselves are part of an elite segment within it. Although they are women, they are predominantly career teachers, and in the context of school teaching they are very well qualified, with honours degrees, and even three doctorates amongst them. The school itself is an elite one, with high social and academic standing,

located within the highest prestige sector of school education - independent secondary. In addition, many of them have husbands or close relatives in the city's universities and 'bask' in the greater prestige of that, higher status, sector of education, with its connections to research and the production of new knowledge in their respective fields.

The low status of teachers is often accounted for by the nature of the client-relations involved. As children or adolescents the teacher's 'clients' are of little social consequence, and in the majority of situations, are drawn from a lower social class than the teacher herself. Geer has also pointed out that clients (pupils) who are compelled to attend further diminish the teacher's status. (Geer, 1966.) Others have suggested that it is rather the parent who is the 'true' client, and, since school attendance is compulsory and, in the state sector, free, Lortie has gone so far as to suggest that in this situation it is rather the 'community' that is the client. (Lortie, 1969.) Certainly, in the majority of teaching contexts, the client-relationship is ambiguous, and may be

> 'dysfunctional with respect to high professional status since it distorts a proper professional-client relationship by forcing teachers to use discipline and bureaucratic authority to control their compulsorily-attending immature students and by allowing them to define parents as ill-informed, meddlesome, intrusive and the like'.
> (Leggatt, p. 170.)

In contrast with this view of the occupation, the St Luke's teachers enjoy a more advantageous position. Although their pupils of necessity are young and immature, they are also of high academic and social standing. Similarly, the independence of St Luke's ensures that the professional-client relationship was neither so diffuse nor so disadvantageous as that outlined by Geer, Lortie and Leggatt, being neither freely provided, nor compulsory, nor constrained by the bureaucratic framework of the state educational system.

This discussion of the St Luke's staff as an elite sample of their occupational group may seem to have little immediate relevance to the classroom. In fact, the two major functional components of the teacher's role meet in the classroom, and after a description of these two components, the classroom dialogue comes sharply into focus.

The Professional in the Classroom

Two major components of the teacher's professional role, inside and outside the classroom, can be distinguished. The first component consists of the teaching functions - the transmission of knowledge. The other major component is grounded in the bureaucratic and organisational aspect of the school, and can be summarised as the organisational and custodial functions. The transmission of knowledge, though the knowledge is not as specialised and esoteric as that of the 'learned' professions (law and medicine), does,

in a school like St Luke's, involve specialised expertise which out-strips that of non-members of their profession. The methods by which the knowledge is imparted, though again not as esoteric as those of the high status professions, and drawn from the lower prestige academic disciplines of social science, are an area where some degree of special skill can be claimed - whether based on training or experience. The sense of expertise which does exist, has also been strengthened in recent years by the development of new curricula and methods of teaching, such as language labs, 'New Maths' and the changed science syllabuses. Except in relation to 'experts' doing advanced research in those fields, these changes give the teacher an enhanced sense of being specialists, and hence professionals.

The organisational and custodial functions, the second component of the teacher's role, are related to the 'imparting of knowledge' functions in the sense that the teacher is unable to impart anything to children who are disorganised and uncontrolled. The teacher is expected to be responsible for the maintenance of discipline, the observance of school rules and routine and for general administrative matters. These functions are closer to the 'duties' of parents, and to normal adult roles in society, so that in this area the teacher can lay claim to little in the way of expertise, and her role is broadly that of all parents, writ large. These functions are open to

realistic assessment by non-teachers, and this area is not affected by specialist innovations.(34)

The teacher's participation in the authority structure of the school has another side, for it is in this sphere that, as well as being the aspect of behaviour open to scrutiny by society, the teacher is open to the scrutiny of her colleagues and superiors. In this area her conduct is subject to accountability and visibility to a greater extent than in her 'imparting of knowledge' function. Each teacher builds up a special relationship with her classes of pupils, which is, as long as it does not disrupt or interfere with the rest of the school, an invisible and non-accountable concern.(35)

The sphere of the 'authority system' is the area where relationships with professional colleagues are paramount. Becker (1953) has described the operation of 'colleague-influence' and 'control' as told to him by Chicago public school teachers. These teachers, like the vast majority of their profession, were careful to act in concert for the mutual preservation of authority.

(34) This last point is often advanced as a key factor in the low status of the profession (e.g. Becker, 1953).
(35) If a teacher chooses to make her classes line-up in silence before entering the room, or sets only reading homework, these are both primarily personal decisions, but the former is visible while the latter is not. Outside the classroom teacher-pupil relations are more public, and a more universalistic system of authority prevails. There is a contrast between the tacit 'rule of thumb' approach suitable for classroom management, and the formal, codified rules which deal with the organisation of the institution.

One teacher explained 'For one thing, no teacher should ever disagree with another, or contradict her, in front of a pupil'. The result for authority vis-a-vis students is feared: 'Just let another teacher raise her eyebrow funny, just so they know and they don't miss a thing, and their respect for you goes down right away'.

At a more autobiographical level, both Kozol (1967) teaching in an American ghetto school, and Eileen Moody, in a London girls' school (1968) have described vividly how they remained unaware for some time of the disciplinary norms among their colleagues. Moody's experience is more relevant here, as she describes how she created a pattern of interaction with the girls, which worked in the privacy of the classroom, and on a personal level outside it; but - she was shocked to discover - it was totally unlike that of her colleagues' particularly in matters of discipline in the corridor and playground (see the quote above). She found herself impotent in the face of the common stand on such 'authority matters' taken by the rest of the staff, and discovered her idiosyncratic behaviour was noticeable to the girls themselves.(36)

(36) When Moody asked which teachers enforced the rules she was told 'all of them 'cept you'. The staffroom isolation of the two teachers not opposed to long hair at Lumley Secondary school, described by Hargreaves (1967, p. 137) is another example of the colleague-control which operates on matters of public discipline. However it is worth stressing that schools differ in their definitions of what is properly the concern of the-staff-as-a-whole in the matter of public discipline. Girls' schools vary in the fuss made about make-up; boys' on whether hair length is a matter for disciplinary action. New staff have to learn where any particular school draws its lines, and adjust to their colleagues.

For teachers such as Kozol, Moody, and Hargreaves himself, it becomes extremely difficult to maintain the idiosyncratic 'private' norms of the classroom. Also when they meet discipline problems in the classroom they encounter acute 'role stress' between the bureaucratic need for control and social distance on the one hand, and the satisfactions of teaching their subjects, and achieving 'affectively laden interaction' (Bidwell, 1965) on the other.

The two areas of the teacher's work - 'knowledge-imparting' and 'disciplinary and organisational' - do of course operate in different social contexts - or rather the imparting of knowledge is confined to the classroom, while the other functions spread over both classroom and the 'outside' (the corridors, dining halls, playgrounds, driveways, bus stops and even the streets of the community). In practice though, many schools are structured in such a way that the two become inextricably linked, and the custodial functions tend to predominate. The extent to which the organisational and disciplinary functions of teachers in girls' schools become emphasised, according to the intellectual and social-class nature of the intake, as perceived by the staff, has already been discussed in this chapter.

The staff of St Luke's are an elite group of teachers, and because they teach in a school where the disciplinary side of their functions is given relatively

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little emphasis, their status as subject specialists is more important in the day to day running of the school than their status as 'controllers' or 'organizers'. Those teachers who 'picked on' girls for running in corridors or not tying their hair back were not the majority, but a minority. Approximately two-thirds of the staff had informal friendship groups in the staffroom who did not emphasise discipline as a 'thing in itself', though they did not explicitly flout the norms of colleague loyalty by challenging the right of those staff who did enforce all the rules to do so.(37)

This emphasis among the staff on their classroom role, and its echoes among the pupils' perceptions of them, makes them a good example of a theoretical sample in Glaser

(37) St Luke's is a highly organised school, and all staff were expected to be efficient bureaucrats, collecting money, absence notes, writing reports and so on. I would maintain that the organisational side of the role is easier to combine with an idiosyncratic classroom style than the disciplinary one. The lack of any consensus of staff opinion and action on discipline can be seen from the following incidents: one mistress regularly left the school to go home with three of my sample who were 'sciving' from the RI which was scheduled as their last lesson of the day, and my accompanying them abashed neither side; two of the four games staff said they were not in favour of punish-Olivia for 'cutting'PE, though their colleagues had reported her to Mrs Michaels; several teachers conversed with girls at lunch in the 'silence' before grace, despite frowns from the senior staff on 'High Table' and none of these teachers were perceived as 'weak' by the girls who operated their judgements along the 'strict - easygoing' dimension entirely in reference to classroom control and described the teacher's attitudes to the non-classroom area in terms of being 'old fashioned' or 'petty', in other words a personal choice and not something inevitably linked to their role at all.

and Strauss's sense of the term. Observation of these teachers in the classroom is the observation of a sample picked because they are perhaps the nearest thing to a 'purely knowledge imparting' set of teachers available at school level. In their classrooms it is possible to see intellectual and academic styles in the nearest thing to a 'pure form' possible. In Chapter 10 a model for understanding the dynamics affecting classroom interaction between teacher and pupil is presented, which contains both academic and non-academic factors. There a key element which decides the teacher's reactions to pupil actions is her 'perception of appropriateness' - that is her perception of what behaviour verbal and otherwise, is appropriate from pupils. I argue that it is only in a school like St Luke's that the teacher's reactions, and hence her definitions of appropriate academic behaviour, can be studied, and this important aspect of teacher-pupil interaction analysed.

St Luke's, because of the lack of stress on the disciplinary/bureaucratic side of the teacher's role leaves her free to analyse the pupils' behaviour in an <u>academic</u> framework. The teacher who has to be constantly 'on guard' for infringements cannot judge pupil contributions only as academic statements, but must filter them for 'disciplinary' meanings. St Luke's provided an opportunity

to study the perceived limits of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour in academic matters in systematic fashion.(38)

(38) The paper by Keddie (1971) in Knowledge and Control looks at a similar problem; how the teacher's perceptions of their pupils' abilities cause them to 'filter' their contributions in different ways.

CHAPTER 4

THE PUPILS OF ST LUKE'S

The girls - Sociometry, Leisure Activities and Family Background

'There was a jolly student once
Lived by the river Cam;
She went to parties from morn to night,
For lectures cared not a ---.
And this the burden of her song
For ever used to be:
"I'll dance and dally until I drop -
Or somebody drops on me."'

(Girton College Songs p. 14)

Introduction

In this chapter the focus changes from the school and its staff to the pupils I studied. Three main aspects of their lives are covered; their leisure activities, their friendship groups, and their family backgrounds. The differences in outlook and behaviour between the various cliques are analysed, and the implications for classroom interaction discussed. Where appropriate material is available, data on other adolescents in Edinburgh, on British adolescents in general, and from some selected American studies, are introduced for comparison. This chapter forms a pair with the following one, which presents material on more immediately academic matters, such as subject specialisation and the girls' perceptions of appropriate pupil behaviour.

The Sample of Pupils

The sample of pupils at St Luke's whom I studied in depth were aged 14 and 15, and comprised the third year of the normal Scottish secondary curriculum.(1) The year consisted, officially, of 43 girls, but during the half term I spent with them only 41 were present.(2) The sample were a social group in the sense that most of them had been together at the school for some years.(3) A quarter of them had been at St Luke's since they were five, having attended no other school. The mean number of years at St Luke's for the whole sample was 6.2 out of a possible ten years.

The amount of mobility in and out of the group was also small. Two girls had left it during the six months previous to my visit.(4) They had been replaced by two girls transferred from other schools, Wendy and Michelle, both of whom already had friends in the group when they arrived.

The 41 girls were divided into two parallel forms for administrative purposes, but - as noted above - received their academic lessons in subject 'sets' based on perform-

(1) Transfer to secondary education takes place at twelve in ordinary Scottish schools rather than at eleven as in England. My sample were a year away from 'O' grades, which is the fourth year in England.
(2) One girl, Una, was away on a two-month ski-ing course, while another, Isabelle, was seriously ill.
(3) A quarter of the sample were boarders, and half of these girls had come to the school at the minimum age of nine.
(4) One being kept down to repeat the second year, the other, Mandy, going to an English public boarding school.

ance in that subject. There were two sets for English, Maths and French, three for History and Geography and one or two, depending on the numbers, for the various optional subjects in the 'O' grade curriculum. This attempt to avoid the detrimental aspects of a more rigid streaming system, such as described by Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970), was not altogether successful as the rest of this chapter shows. It did have the effect of making the time-table extremely complicated, and thus my attempts to observe all subjects in equal proportions and to watch the whole sample equally often involved careful planning.(5)

The formal divisions among the sample, then, were relatively flexible, so that no two teachers actually taught identical classes. Because of this, the informal friendship groups which existed were less constrained by the formal divisions into sets or forms than the friendship groups within the rigid streams at Hargreaves' Lumley and Lacey's Hightown. The cliques which existed did, however, show some tendencies similar to those discussed by Hargreaves and Lacey, and it is this aspect of the pupils' world I want to consider first.

The collection of sociometric data about pupils has become almost a commonplace in recent years. The existence of an informal social structure in the classroom is introduced clearly by Morrison and MacIntyre as follows:

(5) Their timetable is reproduced in Appendix 1 and the reader can imagine what the combined one for the seven years of the senior school looked like.

> 'Whether or not a class has any formal social organisation, it has an informal social structure which, with pupils over the age of about seven, and when the class has been together for some time, tends to be relatively stable. Sub-groups of various sizes are formed, either integrated within a cohesive class group, or indifferent or hostile to other sub-groups... Membership of such informal groups is voluntary, and that members continue to belong to them is due to a shared acceptance of, and preference for certain ways of behaving.'
>
> (Morrison and MacIntyre, 1969. p. 113)

The sub-groups, or cliques, which I found at St Luke's were, as I show below, integrated into a cohesive year group, rather than being mutually hostile or indifferent. In this they differed from the cliques described by Hargreaves, which were extremely hostile, and those analysed by Coleman in American high schools. (Coleman 1962.) The overall structure of the year group, showing the six cliques which co-existed within it, and the links between them, is given in Figure 4:1. The actual sociometry of the sample, showing the friendship choices within each clique follows in Figures 4:2 to 4:5. I constructed

these figures using data from my interview with 39 of the girls.(6)

The Sociometric Structure of the Sample

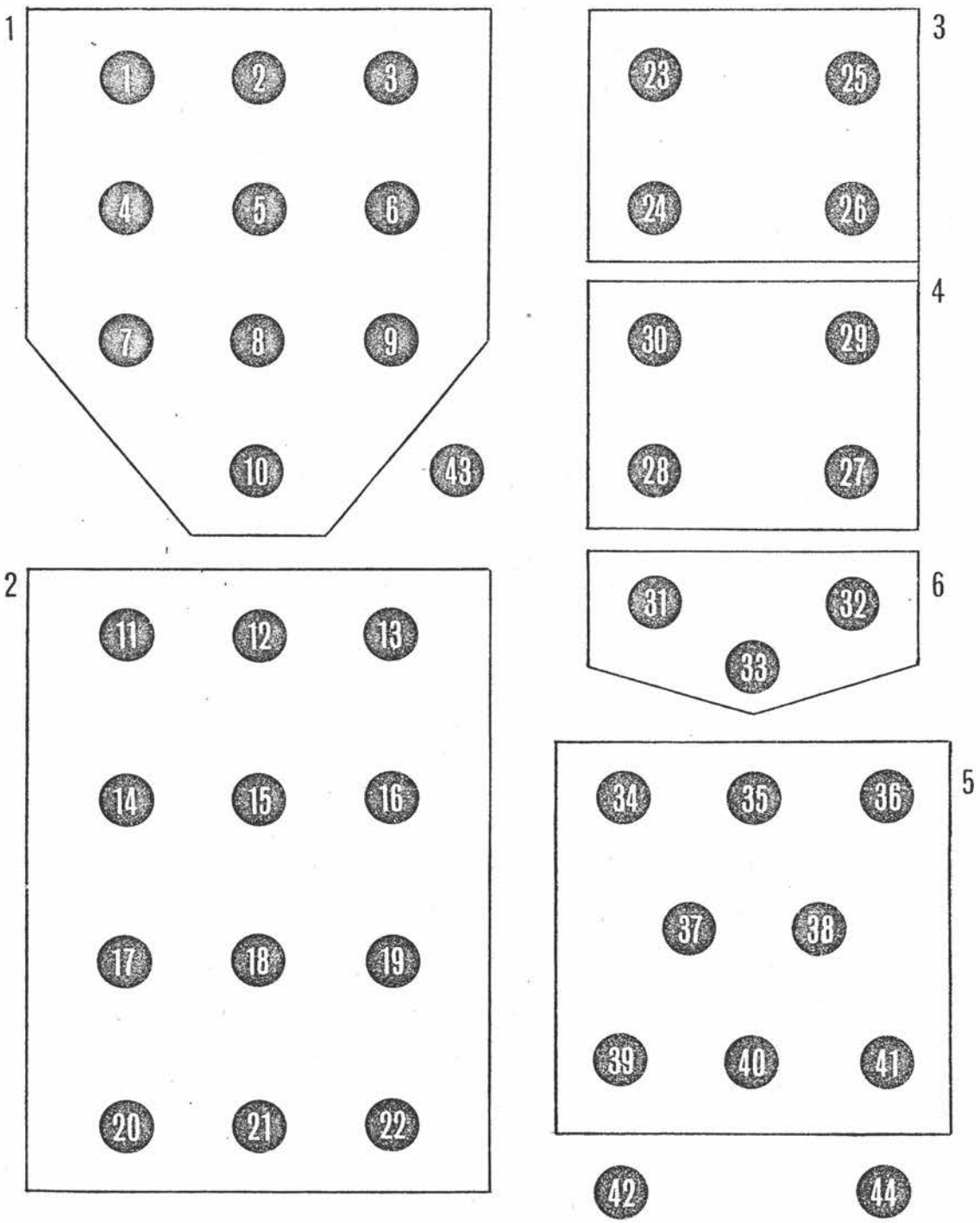
The schematic representation of the sample in Figure 4:1 actually includes 44 girls, all those in the year plus Mandy, who had left for school in England, but was still regarded as a significant member of the social unit by several girls. These 44 girls formed six cliques, with three pupils left relatively isolated.

The cliques at St Luke's were partly voluntary associations of pupils, and partly caused by the organisation of the school. One group consisted of all those girls who lived together in the boarding house, a grouping which is obviously due to their common residence, organised

(6) During the interviews I asked each girl who were her "special friends" in the year and collected a list of choices from each person. These chosen names were then plotted onto a 44 x 44 matrix, to see which choices were mutual and which unreciprocated. This matrix also shows which girls are popular - that is chosen by many others, and which less popular, or isolated. (see Lacey, 1970. p. 110 for an example of this procedure.) Girls were then arranged into cliques by applying a simple ground rule - a girl belonged where she had the most mutual choices. This rule gave unambiguous placings for almost all the girls. Problems did arise when I tried to place those girls who were unavailable for interview, who could not, therefore, have any mutual choices recorded for them. These girls, represented by shaded circles on the diagrams, were placed where they were 'most chosen' by others. Unlike the sociometry given by Hargreaves (1967) my sample did not contain 'stars', girls who were chosen by many people outside their own groups because they were class leaders - instead I found a series of independent, separate cliques with few links between them.

FIGURE 4:1

Social Structure of Sample



by the school. The reasons for the other choices in the year are more problematic, and we need to consider the dynamics of voluntary groups to understand them. Morrison and MacIntyre have explained voluntary groupings as follows:

> 'Peer groups are important both for the pupils and the teacher. In the first place, since they offer pupils the means to satisfy particular needs to affiliate or influence, and since they provide extensive opportunities for satisfying powerful tendencies to evaluate our personal interpretations of the environment and of ourselves against the interpretations and perceptions of others, they act as means to simplify and confirm decisions as to legitimate values and behaviours to adopt.'
>
> (Morrison and MacIntyre, 1969. p. 123)

The amount of variation to be found among different cliques in the sort of behaviours and values which are considered legitimate depends on the extent to which the groups are mutually antagonistic. At Lumley, the school studied by Hargreaves, the low stream sub-groups appeared to have nothing in common with those in the upper streams, either at the level of actions or of ideology. Top stream boys dressed neatly, stayed in at night to do homework, and behaved well in class. Low stream boys stole and fought, dressed scruffily, went out at night and spent their lessons 'mucking about'. Even their respective family backgrounds, though not distinct in the broad terms of the Registrar General's classification,

show differences in life style; small families, owner-occupied houses, consumer goods and strict control over children, all being more usual for top stream boys. Here, a wide range of ideas and actions differentiated groups which showed overt hostility to each other.

Julienne Ford (1970), Colin Lacey (1970) and Barry Sugarman (1967 and 1970) have also reported similarly divergent life styles in samples from grammar, comprehensive and secondary modern schools, but all their schools had mixed intakes in terms of social class and all were streamed, both factors which are likely to aggravate any tendencies towards polarisation. In the American high schools studied by Coleman (1962) and Cicourel and Kitsuse (1963) the life styles of the various cliques in each school seemed to be similar, but the groups were rivals for high places in the hierarchy of prestige which existed in all the schools studied. These high schools, though not streamed in the English tradition, have a de facto division into those taking college courses, who came from the 'best families' in the area, and those taking lower status 'vocational' courses, who came from poorer homes.

At St Luke's however, I found that there seemed to be neither hostility between the cliques, nor any kind of prestige hierarchy in the American sense. The girls in the year had so much in common, that where they differed in attitudes, behaviour and family background this

caused mutual indifference and tolerance, rather than antagonism.(7) In the following pages the areas of common behaviour and those of differences are examined, starting with out-of-school and extra-curricula activities, which differentiate the cliques by identifying their distinctive life-styles.

Leisure Activities

The first point that needs to be made about activities outside school is that, like the pupils in Coleman's sample of high schools, the girls have many interests in which they all take part, irrespective of clique membership.

Before showing in detail the common activities and how the activities of the six cliques differ, it is interesting to compare the leisure activities of my sample with those of other young people in the city and in Britain, but this is not very easy to do. There is a lack of detailed work on how British teenagers, either in full-time education or at work, spend their spare time. Many books have been written in this country about 'the youth problem', but few of them are based on any comprehensive research

(7) The immediate reaction to the question was a statement to the effect that the whole year was friendly, and that 'I just have some special friends - but I talk to everyone - we're a very friendly class'. (This is a quote from Katherine, but the sentiment was a common one.)

about their subjects. The bibliographies of typical works on the position of young people in the Britain of the sixties, such as Mays's The Young Pretenders (1965) and Musgrove's Youth and the Social Order (1964), contain more references to American studies, anthropological fieldwork, and work on delinquents and gangs, than to empirical evidence about ordinary British teenagers.

A discussion of the research that does exist, such as the SCRE (1970) survey, and the results of my own research on the leisure activities and interests in Scotland, is given in Appendix 2. In summary, both my research and that of the SCRE show games more popular with boys, youth clubs and dancing with girls; and non-team sports, (such as swimming) and cultural pursuits (such as playing instruments and singing) common to both. Appendix 2 shows that adolescents in Edinburgh have a wide range of interests, both active and sedentary. Against the background of this information we can see the leisure pastimes of my St Luke's sample in perspective. Table 4:1 shows the most popular activities for the whole sample, and it is possible to discover which interests discriminate between the cliques, and which are commonly undertaken.

The most striking difference between the lists of popular activities given for the large sample of girls (Table 1, Appendix 2) and for the St Luke's sample (Table 4:1), is the small number of girls from St Luke's who go to any type of youth club. This is probably due in part

TABLE 4:1

Leisure Activities at St Luke's

Rank	Activity	No (n=42)
1	Swimming	16
	Tennis	
3	Ski-ing	15
	Making Music (Playing and Singing)	
5	Riding	14
6	Skating	12
7	Drama	11
8	Badminton	10
	Dancing	
10	Girl Guide Movement	9
	Natural History	
	'Other Sports'	
13	Reading	7
14	Fencing	5
	'Going out with Boys'	
16	Sailing/Canoeing	4
17	Youth Clubs	3
	Camping/Hiking	
	Sewing	
	Ballet	

to their younger average age, 14.6 as opposed to 16.1 years, and partly to the higher social class backgrounds from which they come.(8) Informal conversations with older girls at the school suggest that they belong to university societies, or to clubs for golf, sailing or tennis to which their whole family is attached, rather than to general purpose youth clubs.(9)

One other result of the type of home background from which my sample came is also apparent from a comparison of the two tables. The more 'aristocratic' and expensive sports - such as ski-ing, riding and fencing - have relatively more adherents at St Luke's than they do in the large sample, although none is unique to the school. This is one obvious consequence of the greater affluence of the samples' families.

(8) Membership of youth clubs, both those attached to the National Federation of Youth Clubs and those connected with churches and community centres, tends to be concentrated among the children of skilled manual and clerical workers, and to be sparse among the children of unskilled manual and professional and managerial workers. (Morse, 1965; Milson, 1969; Mays, 1965; and Schofield, 1965.) The large sample came from a cross-section of senior secondary schools in the city, and included many girls from lower-middle class homes, as well as girls from professional ones, while the St Luke's sample were entirely from the latter background.

(9) Girls from rural homes belong to their local Young Farmers Club irrespective of their home background or type of school, but only one girl, Tessa, in my sample from St Luke's actually came from a farming area, so YFCs do not feature in Table 4:1. Among the minority of girls in either sample who were interested in politics, only one or two actually belonged to any political club, and they were equally divided between the Young Conservatives and the SNP.

A more detailed breakdown of the figures given in Table 4:1, reveals that certain activities are specifically related to clique membership, while others are more generally popular. A description of the distinctive features of each clique is given first, followed by a summary table, showing all the differences.

Characteristics of Cliques

The first clique to be identified is Clique 1, the boarders - shown in Figure 4:2, together with their links to the rest of the year. Clique 1 is relatively self-contained, as only four choices go outside the boarding house. There are ten girls in the clique; Janice, Fleur, Eleanor, Jackie, Alexandra, Karen, Mary, Barbara, Esther and Hazel. All of them are boarders, and no boarders in the sample are excluded from this clique. The internal structure of the clique is complicated, with many choices binding its members together.(10)

Three of this clique's outside choices go to Clique 2, which is shown in detail in Figure 4:3. Clique 2 is the largest group, containing twelve girls, and has a clearly distinguishable life-style.

The contrast between girls who are becoming increasingly involved in a peer-group centred adolescent

(10) As they are not a completely voluntary group, the boarders could not necessarily be expected to have any unifying set of beliefs or behaviours other than those that derive from boarding together. It would certainly be difficult for them to have a shared life in the holidays, as their homes are scattered all over Scotland.

Key to Sociograms

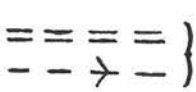
Clique Member

Girl unavailable for interview

Non-member of Clique

Reciprocated choices

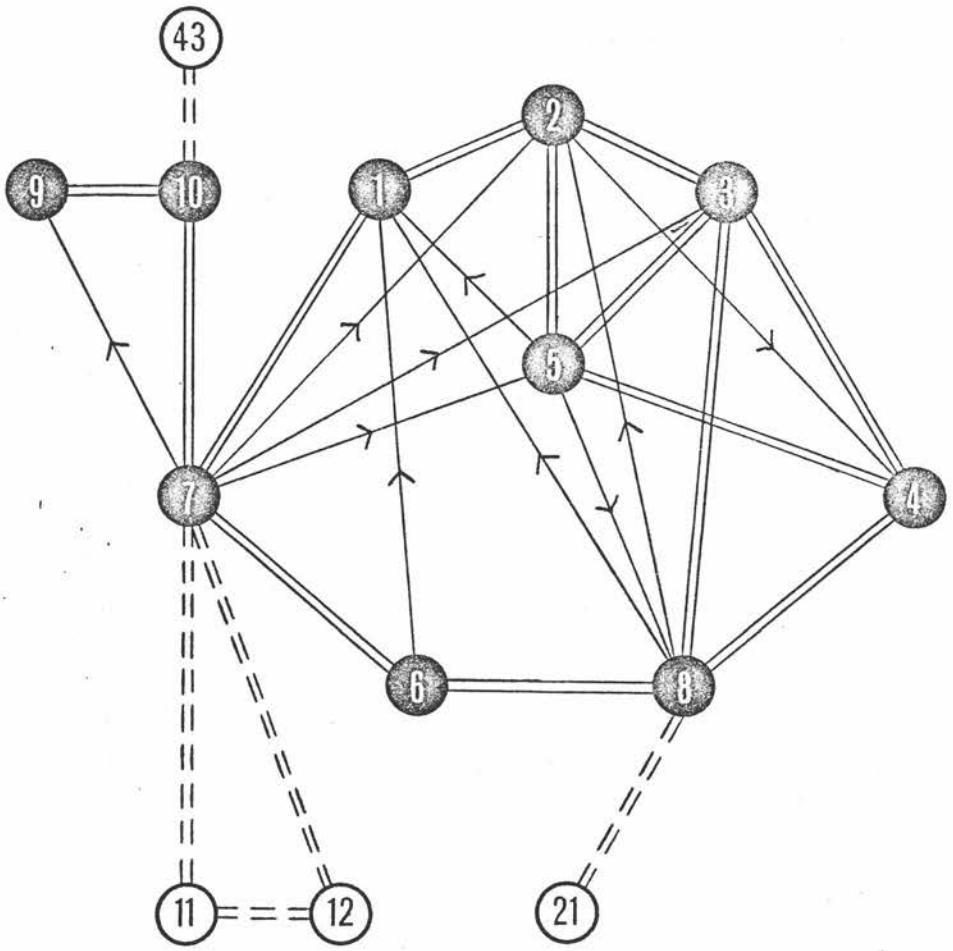
Non-reciprocated choice
(showing direction of choice)



Choices outside Clique

FIGURE 4:2

Clique 1 -The Boarders

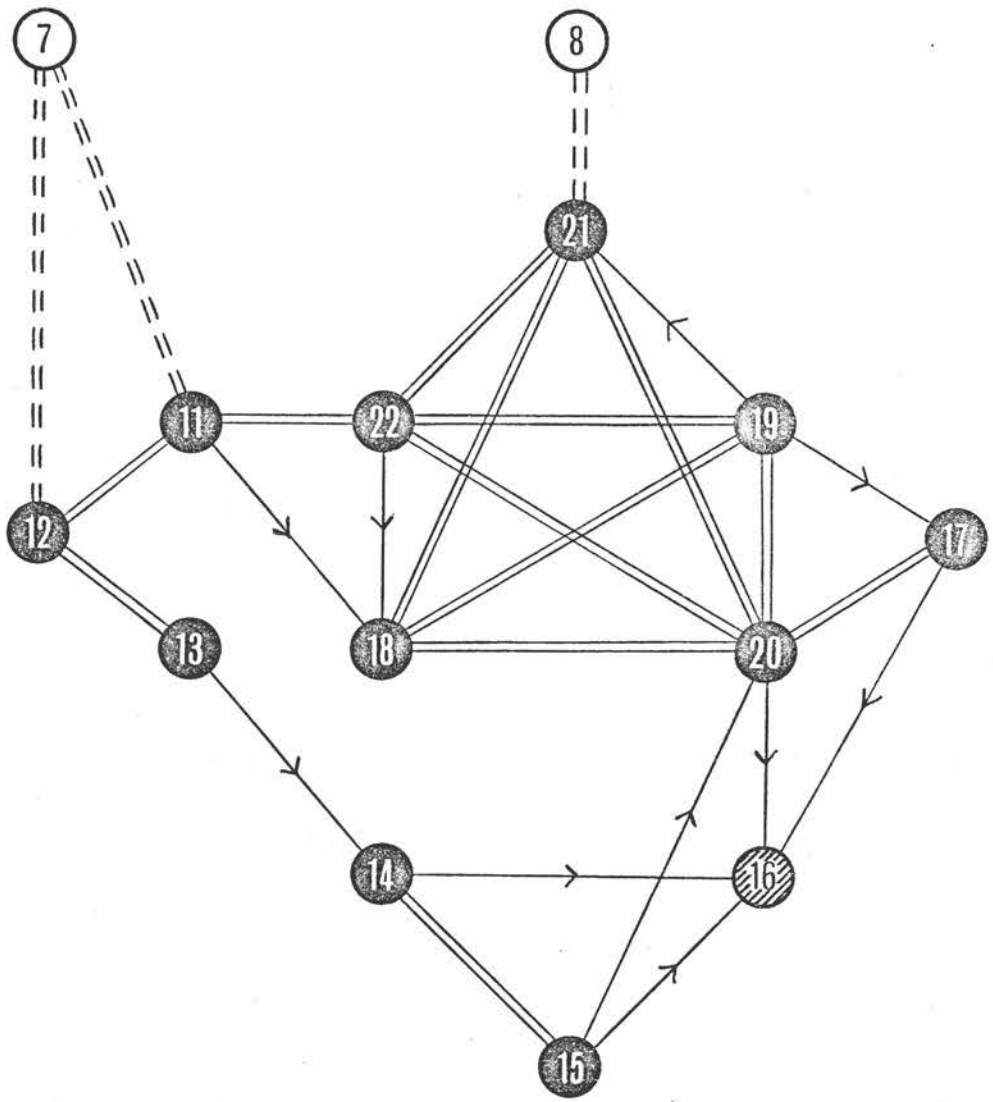


Key

No.	Girl		
1	Janice	9	Esther
2	Fleur	10	Hazel
3	Eleanor		
4	Jackie	11	Tessa
5	Alexandra	12	Monica
6	Karen	21	Vanessa
7	Mary	43	Wendy
8	Barbara		

FIGURE 4:3

Clique 2- 'Debs & Dollies'



Key

No.	Girl		
11	Tessa	19	Louise
12	Monica	20	Nancy
13	Caitlin	21	Vanessa
14	Katherine	22	Zoe
15	Olivia		
16	Lorraine		
17	Gale	7	Mary
18	Yvonne	8	Barbara

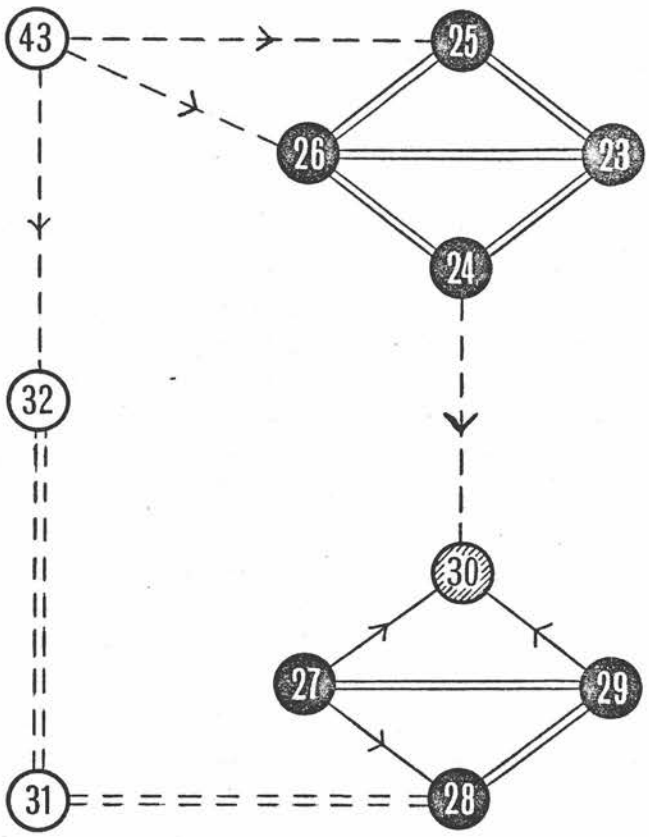
sub-culture; and those who are still mainly involved in doing things with their families, and with activities based on their school and church, is a particularly vivid one among girls aged 14 and 15. Most members of Clique 2, together with three boarders, Karen, Janice and Barbara, were primarily peer-group centred, while most of the rest of the year were not - though the situation was changing rapidly as the girls matured and developed more interests outside the home. At the time of my study involvement in the adolescent world was symbolised for my sample by a number of apparently trivial indicators - such as drinking coffee, wearing make-up and smoking - some of which had consequences for school life as well as social relations among the girls themselves. Dressing in certain styles, and spending one's leisure time in particular ways could affect relationships with teachers, as the incident concerning dance tickets described to me by Vanessa (given in the previous chapter) shows.

The twelve girls in Clique 2 are Tessa, Monica, Caitlin, Katherine, Olivia, Lorraine, Gale, Yvonne, Louise, Nancy, Vanessa, and Zoe. Apart from the three links with the boarders, this clique makes no choices among other members of the year, as Figure 4:3 shows. This clique has one set of girls who are very closely linked by mutual choices, centred on Nancy, and a number of more loosely linked girls who make fewer choices.

Figure 4:4 shows two small groups: Clique 3 consists of four girls, Belinda, Geraldine, Cheryl and Lorna;

FIGURE 4:4

Cliques 3 and 4



Key

No.	Girl		
23	Belinda	27	Rosalind
24	Geraldine	28	Sharon
25	Cheryl	29	Frances
26	Lorna	30	Isabelle
43	Wendy	31	Clare
		32	Angela

and Clique 4 of another four, Rosalind, Sharon, Frances and Isabelle.(11) Their activities included both guiding and mixed teenage pursuits, but they did not go in for solitary or intellectual hobbies. The link between Cliques 4 and 6, the close friendship between Clare and Sharon, is due to both of them being, to quote Henrietta (a member of Clique 5) 'absolutely horse-nuts'.(12) What did clearly distinguish Cliques 3 and 4 from the others in the year was their members' relatively poor academic abilities.(13)

Although St Luke's was unstreamed (with the consequence that this simple measure of academic performance was unavailable) I found it was possible to give each girl an academic score, based on the 'set' she was in for each subject in her curriculum. The best score available was 6, gained by being in the top division in every subject,

(11) I was unable to interview Isabelle, as she was absent through illness during my researches, which is particularly unfortunate as she forms the link between cliques 3 and 4. I have placed her in Clique 4 because two girls in that group chose her compared to one in Clique 3, but if I had spoken to her the precise structure of this point might be different. As Figure 4:1 showed, Clique 4 also has a link with Clique 6, due to Sharon claiming to be 'best friends' with Clare from that group and this is reciprocated, but there are no other choices between these groups.
(12) These two appeared to be all that remained of a clique of girls mad about riding, which had included Katherine, and two girls who had left the school. Apart from this friendship with Sharon, Clare and her two other friends, Angela and Selina, had more in common with Clique 5 than with Sharon's other friends.
(13) All but one girl in the year had IQ's of 110 or more. All were therefore fairly able academically, in national terms.

and the lowest score any girl obtained was 14. It is then possible to calculate an average academic score for each clique by combining the scores of each girl within it, and these mean scores give an idea of the relative academic statuses of the cliques. The rank orders of the six cliques are shown in Table 4:2 below.(14)

TABLE 4:2

Rank Orders of Cliques on Academic Scores

Rank	Clique	Mean Score
1	5	6.7
2	6	7.6
3	1	8.8
4	2	10.6
5	4	12.3
6	3	13.0

This table shows that the two cliques shown in Figure 4:4, (Cliques 3 and 4) have the lowest average academic scores.

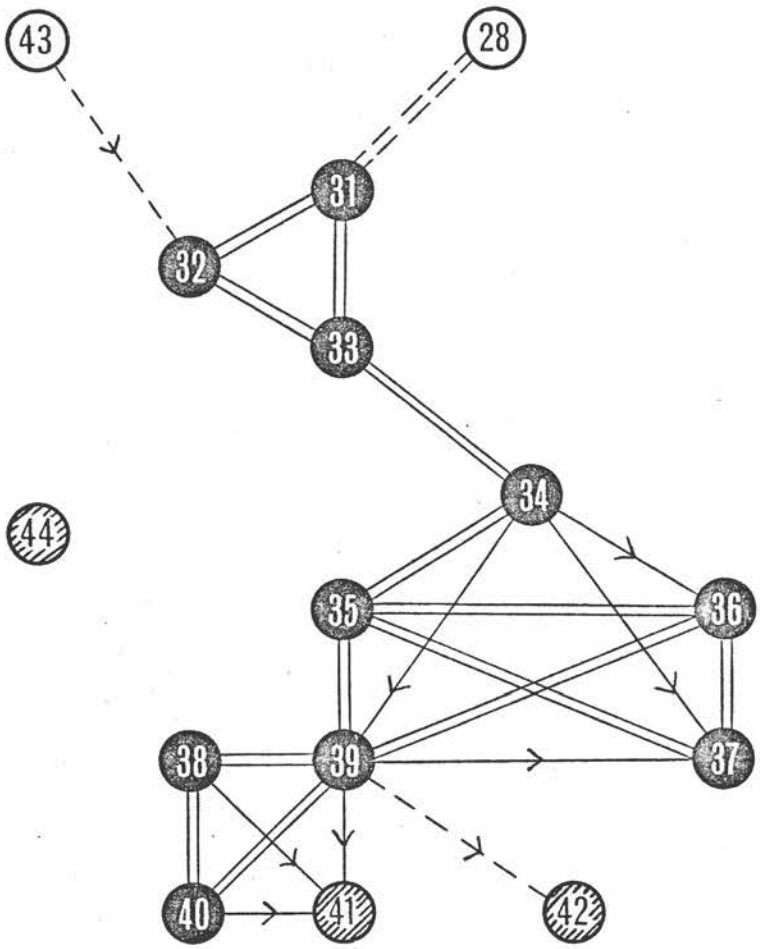
This relationship between clique membership and academic score is statistically significant - girls with academic scores of less than 9 are significantly more likely to belong to Cliques 5, 6 and 1 than to the others.(15)

Finally, Figure 4:5 shows Cliques 5 and 6. Clique 6 consists of three girls, Clare, Angela and Selina (the last of these forming the link with Clique 5 shown in

(14) This excludes the academic scores of Isabelle, Wendy, Deborah, and Una, as they are not members of any clique.
(15) In a 2 x 6 contingency table X^2 is significant, p = .01.

FIGURE 4:5

Cliques 6 and 5



Key

No.	Girl		
28	Sharon	34	Evelyn
		35	Charmian
		36	Jill
31	Clare	37	Philippa
32	Angela	38	Penny
33	Selina	39	Henrietta
		40	Michelle
		41	Mandy
43	Wendy		
		42	Una
		44	Deborah

Figure 4:1). Seven girls make up the fifth clique, Evelyn, Charmian, Jill, Phillipa, Penny, Henrietta, and Michelle, and three of these girls also mentioned Mandy, who had left the previous term, but was still considered a friend. (This figure also shows the three relatively isolated members of the year, Wendy, Una, and Deborah, who are discussed later in this chapter.) Cliques 5 and 6 were shown by Table 4:2 to be the most academically successful, and the two had very similar life-styles and interests, which were clearly different from those of the members of Clique 2.

Henrietta, a member of Clique 5, had a set of nicknames for some of the friendship groups she saw within her year, which were based on their leisure interests and general 'styles'. She described her own friends, and the girls from Clique 6, as 'the academic set - we're the intellectuals', and Clique 2 as 'the debs and the dollies'. To some extent these nicknames do crystallize important differences between the two large groups. Clique 5 does contain many of the most able girls, and their interests were uniformly scholarly and home-centred, and quite often both solitary and individualised. Members of this clique were devotees of archaeology, computers, origami, psychology and petit point; and as a group they read more, in a wider range of subjects, and took part in more musical activities. Also they are more likely to belong to the Guiding movement or to an orchestra or choir outside their homes but not to

mention any peer-group centred activities.

Clique 2 are equally well served by Henrietta's nickname of 'the debs and the dollies'. The only two girls in the sample who led the sort of life associated with Scottish debutantes, (based on hunt balls and grouse shooting), Katherine and Olivia, co-existed in this group with girls who spent their leisure at pop concerts and discotheques. Very few girls in this clique mentioned reading, or any other solitary or intellectual pursuit among their interests, and no-one went to Guides, or any other 'respectable', non-commercial youth organisation. Katherine summed up Clique 2's attitude to the girls in Cliques 5 and 6 by calling them the 'swots and weeds'; yet she maintained that she liked them.

Table 4:3 shows, in summary form, the main distinguishing features of the cliques ennumerated so far - features to do with leisure life styles and school performance. This table shows that almost all the girls enjoyed non-team sports: tennis, swimming, ski-ing, skating and badminton; but that belonging to the Girl Guide movement was limited to girls in Cliques 3, 4 5 and 6, while dancing, youth clubs and dating boys were mentioned almost entirely by girls from Clique 2 plus a few boarders.

This data on leisure activities came from a questionnaire, which asked specifically about 'particular hobbies or interests' in an open-ended question: and were augmented by the interview data. (See the Personal

TABLE 4:3

Types of Leisure Activities by Clique

Clique	No. of Girls	Av. Acad. Position	Teenage Activities (1)	Sports	Solitary Pursuits (2)	Music Drama Ballet	Guides/ Church Clubs
1	10	Medium	3	8	2	6	0
2	12	Medium	11	12	3	0	0
3	4	Low	1	2	2	2	3
4	4	Low	0	3	0	2	3
5	7	High	1	4	7	5	4
6	3	High	1	1	3	2	2

Notes on Table 4:3

1. 'Teenage Activities' included 'going to dances', 'discotheques', 'mixed clubs', 'going out with boys', 'go-go dancing', 'hunt balls' and 'coffee-bars'
2. This category includes 'reading', 'ornithology', 'archaeology', 'origami', 'sewing', 'embroidery', 'making stuffed toys', 'psychology', 'computers', 'mathematical puzzles', and 'ethology'. (Many of these do not appear on Table 4:1, as they had only one or two adherents.)

Information Questionnaire in Appendix 3.) In addition to this unstructured enquiry about leisure, I also studied systematically one area of leisure, reading, by means of another questionnaire. (See Leisure Reading Questionnaire, Appendix 3.) Table 4:1 showed that seven girls put 'reading' as one of their 'particular hobbies or interests'. In the questionnaire on reading I began by enquiring more carefully how much leisure reading each girl did for pleasure. The responses to this are a better indication of the relative amount of reading which the girls do than the simple inclusion or exclusion of 'reading' in a list of hobbies and interests, but it shows a similar pattern. Each girl estimated the amount of leisure reading she did on a five point scale, from '1 - Considerably more than the average person in my form' to '5 - Considerably less than the average person in my form'. As with the academic scores it is possible to produce a mean score for each clique showing the average estimate of leisure reading done by its members, and to rank the cliques according to these mean scores. This ranking is shown in Table 4:4 below.(16)

(16) I have excluded Clique 6 from this table as Clare was unable to complete the questionnaire. Angela and Selina estimated their reading as 'average' and 'slightly above average'. As this questionnaire was filled in during the interview I also lack returns for Isabelle, Una, and Deborah.

TABLE 4:4

Rank Order Cliques Based on the Amount of Leisure Reading

Rank	Clique	Mean Amount read
1	5	1.4
2	4	2.0
3	3	2.25
4	1	2.6
5	2	2.8

This table shows that Clique 5 contains the most girls who estimate that they read considerably more than the average for their year and Clique 2 the least.(17)

This section has so far concentrated on the different leisure activities and academic successes of the six cliques making up my sample. The next section deals with the girls' families, and the next chapter with more strictly academic matters: subject choice, and career and further education intentions. All of these reflect variations between the cliques, but in a more muted form. However, before leaving clique structure to move on to home background, two more points about the social relations need to be made. They concern the position of the isolates, and also how the sociometric data can be verified by an unobtrusive measure.

(17) In fact Clique 2 contains the only girl in the year who said she read 'considerably less than the average' for her year, Nancy, and three of the four in the year who said they read 'slightly less than average', (Monica, Louise, and Yvonne).

The Isolates

There were three isolates among the 43 girls actually attending St Luke's: Wendy, Una, and Deborah. Wendy, who had been in the school for two terms, was obviously in a transitional stage. She had previously been at another school with Hazel, now a boarder at St Luke's, and this friendship still existed, but she was also making friends among the day girls in Cliques 3 and 6.

Unfortunately I was unable to interview the other two isolates: Una because she was at a ski-ing course, and Deborah because her parents refused to let her come for an interview - the only parents to do so.(18)

Una's isolation on the sociometry is interesting in that she appeared to be completely marginal to the life of the year. During all thirty-nine interviews, which covered a wide range of topics, she was not mentioned in any context at all, apart from Henrietta's nomination of her as a friend.(19) In other words, she figured less in the life of the sample than Mandy, who had left the school; either of the 'new girls', Wendy and Michelle or Isabelle, who had been absent for a complete term.

(18) The headmistress sent a circular to all the parents explaining my research, and asking them to let their daughters be interviewed. All the parents but Deborah's sent written or verbal permission, but most of them actually left it to the girls to decide whether or not to come.
(19) The interview schedule is reproduced in Appendix 3.

Una herself seemed, from her questionnaire responses, to be only interested in her ambitions to ski for Britain, and relatively uninterested in everything to do with school, and this may account for her marginality.

In contrast, Deborah, the other isolate, was not ignored but actively disliked - the only member of the sample who figured in disparaging anecdotes and comments.(20) I tried to discover why Deborah was unpopular, to see what light this threw on the common value system of the sample. Two themes emerged; her 'over-protective' parents, described by Penny as follows:

> 'Mummy won't let her go swimming unless she's there to watch her... and she wasn't allowed in the sea... they've got a pool, the sea's too dangerous for darling little Doodles.'

and her tendency to 'go on' about her family. Jill told me:

> 'She's always going on about the McNamara heritage, and her Irish temperament and the oar Daddy won at Cambridge.'

Another girl described graphically how Deborah's father had come to collect her from a badminton match and,

(20) When I was collecting the names of friends in the year to construct the sociogram I did try asking for the names of the people whom each girl disliked as well, to estimate social distances, as Hargreaves did. (Hargreaves, 1967.) This failed miserably as a device, because apart from Deborah, who was disliked by the whole year, only two other girls were mentioned by three people. Two members of Clique 2 claimed to dislike Charmian, and Penny described Cheryl as 'absolutely a nothing', but otherwise peaceful co-existence seemed to prevail.

finding it still in progress, insisted on taking her away in the middle, so that her team lost. Interestingly, Deborah was also an 'isolate' in her academic life, for she exhibited a unique pattern of study-habits, and an unusual set of classroom behaviours, which are discussed in a profile presented in Appendix 5. In summary, Deborah was perceived by her form-mates as ignoring the values which they held to be important - independence from parents, loyalty to school commitments and modesty about wealth and connections. Her isolation does, therefore, afford a clue to some of the common beliefs held by all the other members of the sample.(21)

An Unobtrusive Measure

Finally in this section I report one simple verification of the sociograms shown in Figures 4:1 to 4:5. The interviews with the day-girls took place in my flat during the school holidays and the girls were free to come along in pairs or groups, at any time convenient to them,

(21) Both the quotes given above come from members of Clique 5, but other girls expressed similar sentiments. Sharon (Clique 4) explained to me that ... 'Deborah is completely spoiled - she's nottallowed to go out and she doesn't wear make-up. She thinks anyone who wears make-up is absolutely stupid. They won't let her ride... frightened she'll fall off'. The transcript cannot convey the withering scorn with which this last condemnation was uttered. For Sharon anyone who did not ride was odd, and some-one whose parents forbade it beyond redemption.

although they were interviewed singly.(22) The groupings which they arranged among themselves are shown in Table 4:5. This table illustrates a voluntary association of school friends outside the confines of the building, and is an 'unobtrusive measure' in the sense discussed by Webb et al. (1966). There are considerable similarities between these groupings and the sociometric data.(23) In addition the table highlights a remarkable degree of self-sufficiency on the part of the girls in Clique 5.

Family Background

As Chapter 3 has already made clear, all the girls in my St Luke's sample came from homes in the top category of the Registrar General's classification. St Luke's was, therefore, a one-class school. However, the life-styles practised by the families of some girls in Clique 5 were markedly different from that of other girls in the sample, and this section discusses the differences.

The interrelationships between family background and academic achievement are notoriously complicated. Many educational surveys have shown parental social class

(22) The boarders were interviewed one evening in the boarding house, except Hazel, who was ill, and came to the flat later in the year.
(23) I am not claiming that a clique within the school needs to be a group outside school as well. In fact most of my sample did see their schoolfriends during weekends and holidays, often in company with friends from other schools as well. However, shared experiences outside school are more likely to result in friendship within it.

TABLE 4:5

Attendance at Interviews during a Ten Day Period

Day	Time	Name (Clique No. in Brackets)
Wednesday	2.0	Caitlin, Monica, Katherine and Olivia (2)
	5.0	Michelle (5) with a friend from another school
Thursday	12.0	Angela, Selina and Clare (6)
	2.0	Geraldine, Belinda (3) and Wendy (Isol) with Geraldine's sister
	5.0	Evelyn (5)
Friday	2.0	Tessa and Zoe (2) with Zoe's sister
Monday	2.0	Sharon, Rosalind and Frances (3)
	3.0	Penny (5)
Tuesday	7.30	Lorna and Cheryl (3) with a friend from another school
Wednesday	2.0	Nancy, Vanessa, Yvonne, Louise Gale and Lorraine (2) with Barbara and Janice (1) and Caitlin (2)*
Thursday	2.0	Jill, Philippa and Charmian (5)
Friday	5.0	Henrietta (5)

* Note on Table 4:5

Janice and Barbara were staying with Vanessa for a few days and came along with her. They, and Caitlin, had already been interviewed.

to be related to children's participation and success or failure in the educational system. (e.g. Floud, 1956 and Douglas, 1964 and 1968.) However, while parental occupation is one indicator of a pupil's 'life chances', the relationship between the variables is complicated. As Swift (1968) has pointed out 'a social class must be looked upon as a summarizing variable and not an influencing factor'. Swift sees 'social class' as an 'analytic abstraction' which is a useful variable, but not the only possible one. Sub-cultural variations may be important, and their relation to occupation is not simple. For example, he states that 'a single occupational or income category will not necessarily produce a subculture... All bus conductors or all people earning £1,000-1,100 a year do not form a subculture'. The search should be, therefore, for 'meaningful' and 'relevant' factors relating educational achievement to social stratification.

Swift's ideas are very relevant to the study of family background in a one-class school like St Luke's. Hargreaves (1967) found that the broad divisions of the Registrar General's classification of occupation had no clear relation with stream or clique membership at Lumley, a working-class school, and turned to indications of parental life-style and outlook. Similarly, when analysing the interview material from St Luke's I concentrated on a search for indications of different parental life-

styles which would relate to the literature on middle-class subcultures.(24)

British sociology has, on the whole, neglected the middle classes in favour of a greater concentration on the working classes. Also, when sociologists do turn their attention to the middle classes they tend to concentrate on the more traditional sectors of it (bourgeoisie and entrepreneurs) and to neglect the intellectual sector. The literature on the middle classes did not, at first, furnish a useful discriminator.(25)

The one distinction which did appear useful was that between two sections of the middle classes, the 'intelligentsia' and the 'bourgeoisie', discussed by Punch (1970). Punch emphasises the lack of studies on the intellectual middle class as follows: ...'we lack any systematic study of the

(24) Some researchers have tried to find other simple measures to use instead of occupation, such as the educational level reached by both parents (Douglas 1964), but this did not seem particularly appropriate for use with my sample. Three-quarters of the fathers had a university, or equivalent professional, training; the daughters of those who did not were distributed throughout the cliques and the ability range of the year.

(25) See, for instance, Klein, 1965; Bell, 1969. I did consider the distinctions between 'locals' or 'burgesses' and 'cosmopolitans' or 'spiralists' used by Frankenberg, and although it was possible to apply the categories to the families of my sample, the differences seemed to be over-riden by other considerations. Girls from 'local' homes seemed to mix with others from 'cosmopolitan' ones in all groups, and no-one used any version of this distinction in their interviews to explain their life style or friendships. In other studies I think the categories could be very useful, here they seemed not to be, (see Frankenberg, 1966).

ideology, the role, and the life-style of the intelligentsia'. (Punch, 1970.)(26)

The lack of any definitive study means that one is reduced to caricature to distinguish the intellectual from the bourgeois. One such caricature portrays the intellectual member of the middle class as a 'herbivore', reading the Guardian and signing petitions, while the 'carnivorous' bourgeois, reading the Telegraph or the Express, preys on the weaker members of society. Punch draws an equally amusing sketch of the intellectual's life style:

> '...muesli, Renault Fours, au pairs, brass rubbings, along with sauna baths, Which? and Where?, discussion groups, nut salads, analysis, ... a croft in the Shetlands, painless childbirth, wholemeal bread, ... fingerpainting, ... (and) nudity.'

Behind this caricature, there is a real paradox which the intellectual middle class face, whereby, to quote Punch again, 'objectively, their economic and market situation places them firmly in the privileged strata. But many manifestations and symbols of that class position are utterly despised by them - organised religion, xenophobic patriotism, repressive conformity, crass materialism, philistinism...'. In summary they despise all the attitudes expressed in the literature of the Constitutional Book Club, which were described by Bernard Crick as ...

(26) It is particularly odd that even the radical left in sociology has not studied the section of society on which it pours most scorn.

'a sort of small shopkeepers' version of Herbert Spencer and Samuel Smiles', (Crick, 1971).

This slightly nebulous discriminator does, I believe, relate to the differing life styles of the friendship groups; or rather I think that the outlook of the dominant members of Clique 5, who differ in some ways from the rest of their year, can be illuminated by the examination of this concept. Their family origins may even explain these girls non-involvement in an adolescent peer culture, rather than just being associated with it.

Punch discusses several aspects of the paradox (such as a self-deceptive tendency to identify with pariah groups in society rather than with their 'real' status-equals) but here I want to deal only with attitudes towards education. Punch points out that

> '...children crystalize the intellectual's dilemma because there may well emerge an incipient conflict between his ideology and his children's perceived interests... He may, too, have socialised his children out of an orthodox educational environment (which) can find it hard to accommodate the precocious, outspoken, capricious, imperious, sensitive child of intellectual parents,who have probably transmitted their distaste for uniforms, corporal punishment, compulsory religion, authority and so on, to their progeny'.

I do not want to suggest for one moment that only the children of the intelligentsia object to school uniforms and compulsory religion, even in a middle class school. The quotes from Olivia and Vanessa, in the previous chapter,

children from firmly traditional, bourgeois homes, show this is not the case. However, a minority of my sample, coming from intellectual homes, combined a distaste for the authoritarian and moral aspects of the school regime, with an eager acceptance of its academic offerings; differing from the rebellious girls in Clique 2 who reacted against the academic side as well.

The main distinguishing feature of the homes I have classified as 'intellectual' was either a parent employed in higher educationoor the mother having a professional career in her own right, or both. Henrietta, Michelle and Penny (all of Clique 5) had two parents with successful academic careers in higher education, and another girl in that group had two parents in medicine. The effects of having a 'dual-career' family background (Fogarty et al, 1971) on the girls themselves was to make them more critical of specific features of the school's organisation and more radical in their political views. They were also more likely to see their futures outside the city and its university, themselves with careers rather than just jobs;(27) and - interestingly, in the light of Punch's statement quoted above - more likely to regard very presence at a fee-paying school like St Luke's as

(27) The material on career-choice is given in Chapter 5. Galloway (1973) found recently that having a mother with a career was the best predictor of a 'liberated' attitude among girl students in Edinburgh.

an anomaly. By this I mean that they were the only girls who felt it necessary to explain their attendance at the school to me spontaneously, as if it was something that was not to be taken for granted. The rest of the year had obviously never questioned their parents' choice of school; St Luke's was the type of school which was normal for them, their friends and their relations.

Penny explained to me how she had been at the local senior secondary school in her home town outside the city, but her mother was on the staff, and this was felt to be awkward for both of them, so Penny had been transferred to a city school, i.e. St Luke's. Michelle was highly critical of the uniformity of social background at St Luke's compared to her previous school. She explained: 'The people at my old school were more interesting ... from more varied backgrounds. You can get into St Luke's just on money, they're much more alike ... A lot of people have very narrow minds ... their parents ... say take Deborah ... they keep a shop ... led by their parents too much'. Henrietta produced a long, rambling and slightly muddled account of her parents' dilemma over the relative merits of local state schools and independent ones for herself and her siblings, which fitted Punch's theories perfectly.

I am not attempting to suggest that these girls' parents were particularly radical in terms of the national political spectrum, because they are clearly not, at least

in regard to educating their own children. In every case the desire for a 'really high-powered education in an academic school' had overcome any ideological commitment to the state sector by the time their children were in their teens. However, all the members of Clique 5 but Philippa, had attended either a state, or PNEU school for some portion of their school life, and this made them regard their presence at St Luke's as in some way problematic.

Education of Siblings

Little proper research has been carried out into upper-middle class attitudes to the education of girls. One factor which I thought might distinguish the 'dual-career' families from the remainder was the question of educational parity for boys and girls - I half expected the male siblings of girls from cliques other than five to be receiving more expensive or prestigious educations than my sample. However, this turned out not to be the case.

The forty girls on whom I was able to collect the relevant information had, between them, 45 brothers and 29 sisters, an average of 1.85 siblings per girl. Four of the girls were only children, and thirteen came from families with four or more children in them. Family size was not related to clique membership.

Where there were siblings their education was similar to that of my sample. Twenty of the twenty-nine sisters had been, or were currently at St Luke's, while most of the rest were due to join the school in the future.

The girls' brothers were most commonly attending the exact male equivalent of St Luke's, an independent boys' public school in the city with a small boarding house and a distinguished academic record. Sixteen of the forty-five brothers had been or were at this school, and many of the under-fives were destined for it.(28) None of the brothers attended a major British 'public school', though most attended schools on the Headmasters' Conference.

In the middle 1960's Highet (1969) found that parents who paid school fees for one child deliberately attempted to give equal education to any siblings - apparently to avoid later recriminations! This pattern applies to my sample, throughout all the cliques; where there were siblings, a closely similar education had been or was being, provided.(29)

(28) This 'twinning' of St Luke's and the boys' school is a replication of the findings of Highet's study of attendance at Scottish fee-paying schools earlier in the decade, (Highet, 1969).
(29) All the siblings of the ten boarders were also at boarding schools, unless they were very small.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the sociometric structure of the St Luke's sample. Six cliques were distinguished, with different life-styles and interests. Clique membership was shown to be related to academic success; and to involvement in 'intellectual', 'adolescent' or 'home and church' centred activities. The self-consciously intellectual bias of Clique 5 was related to their family background - dual-career families from the 'intelligentsia' rather than the 'bourgeois' sphere of the upper-middle class. The next chapter deals with more academic matters - subject choice and career plans - and the nature of academic conformity, in the light of the sociometric structure.

CHAPTER 5

THE PUPILS IN SCHOOL

Subject Choice, Attitudes to the Curriculum, Future Plans and Classroom Conformity

"There was another student there
At th'Universitee;
She wrote long essays from morn till night
With never a break for tea.
And this the burden of her song
For ever used to be:
"I'll sit and study until I drop, -
Or somebody drops on me."'

(Girton College Songs, p. 14)

Introduction

This chapter presents material on three aspects of the sample's perspective on academic life at St Luke's. Firstly, the girls' attitudes towards subject choice and the basic school curriculum are discussed. This gives some insight into their views on the explicit or manifest curriculum - the publicly stated aspects of their school work. Secondly the chapter covers the girls' plans for the future; their hopes regarding further education and eventual careers. This gives some insight into their long-term perspectives. Finally there is an account of how the girls see 'good' and 'bad' pupils - a discussion of the hidden curriculum operating in the classrooms of St Luke's. These three perspectives on school work and the classroom enable the reader to understand the underlying features of the data on pupil talk in the classroom presented in the two following chapters.

SECTION 1 - PERSPECTIVES ON THE CURRICULUM

This section presents data on two aspects of the pupils' attitudes towards their academic curriculum. The first part deals with their choice of specialist courses in science or modern languages; the second with their views on the 'core' curriculum - those subjects taken by all girls. The implications of these perspectives for classroom interaction are then discussed. The material presented in the first section can then be contrasted with data on the girls' long-term ambitions (their career and further education plans) and on the 'hidden curriculum' (Snyder, 1971) of the school, which are presented in the second and third sections of this chapter.

SUBJECT CHOICE

There is considerable literature now available on subject choice, both at school and university. The establishment of the Dainton Committee in 1965 made the question of subject choice - in particular the selection or avoidance of science subjects - one of the most important, well-funded, and respectable fields in which to carry out research projects. This section of the thesis is designed to present the girls' perspectives on their curriculum, and their choice of 'O' grade courses, using interview data. It is not my intention to review the literature on subject choice here, though it is worth noting the main topics with which this literature is concerned.

The largest, and most comprehensively covered area, has been that concerning the trends in the relative proportions of school-children taking various subjects in public examinations. For example, the work done by Celia Phillips (1969), which was used extensively by the Dainton Committee, was based entirely on a retrospective analysis of the published figures giving the numbers entering public examinations and undergraduate courses in various subjects. This study revealed certain trends in the numbers of people taking different subjects, but provided nothing in the way of explanation for those trends.

Liam Hudson's work, on Arts and Science specialisation, looked at the choice between these two subject areas at a high conceptual level, in terms of subtle variations in the evaluation of subjects and self-perceptions. In this research (Hudson 1966, 1968a) the choice between Arts and Science subjects is related to differences in personal intellectual style, and a shared 'mythology' of the two areas, involving such general factors as sex-role characteristics, personal attractiveness and impulse gratification.

The work done by Butcher and Pont on the choice of science subjects among bright Scottish pupils was based, in part, on some equally high level factors, such as ratings of careers, and personality inventories. They also considered some more mundane aspects of the problem, such as the types of curriculum available in the schools, and

pupils' ratings of individual subjects. However, in their multi-factorial design they did not use pupils' own accounts, or rationalisations, either of their choices or the reasoning behind them. (Butcher, 1969; Butcher and Pont, 1968; Pont and Butcher, 1968.)

Subject Choice in Scotland

Before presenting my interview data on subject choice it is necessary to mention the effects of the Scottish education system upon specialisation, as the situation differs from that found in England. The Dainton Report excluded Scotland from its deliberations, but recommended that the Scottish examination system could be usefully considered as an improvement on the English one, because it discouraged extreme specialisation at an early age. The Scottish system (at the time of writing) is that pupils may take up to ten subjects at 'O' grade when they are sixteen, followed by up to six or seven 'Highers' a year later. The basic curriculum for the 'H' grade examinations is broader than the 'A' level course in England, as pupils take English, either Maths or a modern language or both, and several other subjects, rather than specialising in three or four closely related ones.

However, this broader range of subjects does not prevent early sepcialisation. Pont and Butcher (1968) studied the courses available to second year pupils in seventeen schools and found that the majority involved

dropping certain subjects irretrievably. For instance, twenty per cent of the boys and sixty per cent of the girls in their sample had dropped all science by the end of their second year. (When they were approximately fourteen years old.)

Subject Choice at St Luke's

At St Luke's the girls made their major decisions about subjects for 'O' grade at the end of their second year in the senior school. However, all their options were not finally closed as the school encouraged pupils to take up new subjects in their sixth year. The general pattern was for all girls to take a basic curriculum of six subjects: Maths, Arithmetic,(1) English, French, History and Geography; and to choose from a range of options up to three more subject courses. These courses did not include either Economics or Modern Studies, and in effect each girl chose whether to start another language, from Greek, German and Spanish, and drop all her sciences, or to take two sciences with either Latin or Dress and Design, or to keep on with all three sciences (Physics, Chemistry and Biology). This avoided the two more usual choices forced on Scots pupils, who are often made to drop either History or Geography, or to choose between

(1) A separate 'O' grade subject in Scotland.

Biology and Mathematics,[2] (Pont and Butcher, 1968; Morrison and McIntyre, 1971). Table 5:1 shows which course each member of my sample had chosen.

It would be wrong, of course, to portray the situation as one of completely free choice on the part of the pupils, as the following material from their interviews will show. In particular, the school had a clear policy about certain subjects and combinations of subjects, which constrained the the girls' freedom of choice. For instance, teachers told me that German and Physics were 'difficult', and so the school did not allow everyone to take them who wished to, and those girls who did take German were obliged to continue with their Latin as well. I found that some girls were clearly constrained in their choice by the school's assessment of their abilities. The most extreme case was that of Olivia, who was taking only Biology, Art and 'Dress and Design' in addition to her basic curriculum. She had already been kept down to repeat a year earlier in her school career, and her options were strictly limited:

> 'I gave up Latin after a term because I wasn't good at it - I wasn't allowed to do Physics or

(2) This allows students to meet the entrance requirements for all Scottish universities, as they have 'either Mathematics or a Science subject'. Biology has low status in many Scottish schools because it is used to meet this requiremement by pupils who cannot pass Maths, and because all science faculties, including Medicine and the Biological sciences, demand Physics and Chemistry exam. passes in preference. St Luke's is therefore unusual, in that high ability girls took the Biology and it enjoyed approximate parity with the other two sciences.

TABLE 5:1

'O' Grade Courses Chosen
by St Luke's Sample

1. Scientists

a) Without Latin

Name & Clique	Physics (1)	Chemistry Set	Biology Set
Henrietta (5)	Yes	A	A
Michelle (5)	Yes	A	A
Karen (1)	Yes	A	A
Mary (1)	Yes	A	A
Eleanor (1)	Yes	A	A
Hazel (1)	Yes	A	A
Lorraine (2)	Yes	A	A
Tessa (2)	Yes	A	A
Isabelle (4)	Yes	A	A
Rosalind (4)	Yes	A	A
Angela (6)	Yes	A	A
Wendy	No	A	A
Zoe (2)	No	A	A
Clare (6)	No	B	A
Sharon (4)	No	B	A
Vanessa (2)	No	B	B
Yvonne (2)	No	B	B
Gale (2)	No	B	B

b) Science and Latin

Name & Clique	Physics	Chemistry Set	Biology Set	Latin Set
Jackie (1)	Yes	A	No	A
Fleur (1)	Yes	A	No	A
Alexandra (1)	No	B	B	A
Penny (5)	Yes	A	No	A
Charmian (5)	Yes	A	No	A
Philippa (5)	No	B	B	A
Nancy (2)	No	B	B	B
Louise (2)	No	B	B	B
Belinda (3)	Yes	A	No	B

Table 5:1 continued.

2. Modern Linguists and Classicists

Name & Clique	Optional Language	Latin Set
Esther (1)	German	B
Evelyn (5)	German	A
Katherine (2)	German	A
Cheryl (3)	Spanish	No
Lorna (3)	Spanish	B
Geraldine (3)	Spanish	B
Frances (4)	Spanish	B
Caitlin (2)	Spanish	B
Janice (1)	Spanish	No
Barbara (1)	Spanish	B
Selina (6)	Greek	A
Jill (5)	Greek	A
Deborah	Greek	A

3. Mixed, Non-University Courses

Monica (2) - Latin (B) and Biology (B)
Olivia (2) - Biology (B) and Dress and Design
Una - Dress and Design

Notes on Table 5:1

1. Only one group took Physics, so no sets existed.

> Chemistry because my Maths wasn't good enough, and I wasn't allowed to start another language.

In this case talking of subject 'choice' is misleading - Olivia had little freedom to choose anything. Hers was, however, the most extreme example of a constrained situation. Some examples of the 'usual' advice and pressure from the school are given below.

The majority of the sample did have some measure of freedom to choose their courses, as the rest of this section shows. I collected the data on specialisation during the interviews (See Appendix 3 for the interview schedule) Every girl interviewed was asked why she had chosen her optional subjects, and then, if parental or school influences had not been mentioned, I asked after them specifically. Each girl was therefore asked about both her choice, and the advice she received from her home and from the staff of St Luke's.

Girls' Accounts of Subject Choice

An analysis of the interview transcripts showed a variety of answers, which can be discussed under summary headings. Each heading gives the major point being put across in the accounts summarised.

1. Arts or Science

An absolute, or relative, lack of ability in either sciences or languages was the commonest single reason advanced for choosing particular subject courses. Seventeen

of the thirty-nine girls interviewed said they had avoided either arts or sciences because they did not think they were good at them. Another six said they had chosen particular arts or science courses because they were better at them. Thus twenty-three girls mentioned a general bias of ability as a factor in their decisions, with more making a negative choice than making a positive one.

Inextricably linked to the comments about perceived ability in science or arts were value judgements about the intrinsic interest, or the boring, 'pointless' nature of the two areas. Some typical responses (taken 'blind' from the transcripts) show the close nature of the association between the two ideas - ability and interest.(3) (Clique numbers are given in brackets.)

Caitlin: (2) 'I was really rotten at Sciences - I found them very boring. Being quite good at French I thought I might as well go on with languages, and French and Spanish are similar.'

Mary: (1) 'I preferred Sciences. I'm not very good at Languages.'

Angela: (6) 'I thought I was better at Science - I had an interest in Science.'

(3) Where there were many girls making similar points, the quotations given were chosen as follows. All the relevant extracts from the transcripts were written on a sheet of paper, then I shut my eyes and picked examples with a pin until I was happy that the range of opinions were represented. This procedure, though not ideal, gives an approximately random selection from the relevant extracts.
This procedure was followed to select all the quotes given in this chapter, unless otherwise stated.

Barbara: (1) 'Because I hated Science, it was terribly boring, and you had to learn masses of stuff.'

Michelle: (5) ''Cos I can't do Languages and they bore me!'

Clare (6) 'Well I'm hopeless at Languages, I just don't understand them and I didn't enjoy Latin - I find French difficult and therefore I thought another language would muddle me even more, and I enjoy doing Science and I like Biology.'

This last quote from Clare illustrates one important sub-set of 'reasons' which concerned ability or attitudes towards one specific subject, determining the choice of the whole area of specialisation.

2. Ability in One Specific Subject

I received twenty-three accounts of decisions made in which ability in one specific subject had been a factor in choosing the whole course. Four girls mentioned their ability or lack of ability in Maths, another four mentioned French, and fifteen girls Latin.(4) Latin was certainly a prestigious subject at St Luke's, and was recommended to any girl hoping to do a university course in Arts or Languages, as well as being compulsory for those taking German. Seven girls said they had taken sciences partly because their Latin was poor; another five that they could not take German for that reason. Some typical comments were as follows:

(4) Lack of ability in Maths precluded taking 'O' grade Physics, Lack of ability in French made girls choose science courses (or in Selina's case Classics), while lack of ability, or dislike of, Latin, specifically precluded taking Classics or German, and made several girls opt for science courses.

Tessa: (2) 'Why did I choose Sciences? Well - I didn't know what I'd do if I did do Languages, and I'm not keen on Latin - it's OK but I didn't see the point.'

Karen: (1) 'I did Science because I couldn't bear Latin, and Sciences are much more interesting.'

Frances: (4) 'I wanted to do German but I couldn't do Latin, and German's meant to be like Latin.'

Selina: (6) 'I decided that I wanted to do Languages rather than Sciences, and I like Latin better than French and I think I'm better at it, so I did Greek rather than German.'

3. 'Instrumental' Reasons

The first comment, from Tessa, introduces another element, the usefulness of the subjects after leaving school. This instrumental argument for choosing subjects was echoed by six other girls. Two 'linguists' used the instrumental explanation of university entrance, and five 'scientists' mentioned jobs. Jill, specialising in Classics, told me:

> 'Well I didn't want to do Sciences, I wanted to do Modern Languages, and Mrs. Michaels said if I wanted to go to Oxbridge it's much easier to do Classics than Modern Languages so I did Classics.'

Alexandra said bluntly:

> 'I don't think I'd really be interested in a language job.'(5)

(5) She wanted to be a physiotherapist.

Similarly, Henrietta told me:

> 'I think the main reason was I don't think there's much to do with languages ... it's a dead end ... once you can speak it there's not much to do with languages except teach - and I don't really think I want to teach - at least not school children.'(6)

4. Advice and Pressure

School and parental pressure and advice were also important. Approximately a third of the girls told me that their parents had advised, or pressured them into certain courses, another third said they had chosen their own courses without influence, and the remainder mentioned pressure or advice from the school, in both positive and negative directions. Most parents seemed to have merely offered advice, except for those who had insisted on the

(6) A similar sentiment was expressed by Michelle, considering the implications of post-graduate research, and this is discussed in her profile in Chapter 9. Both girls were members of Clique 5 and, as Chapter 4 suggested, having parents in academic life gave girls a different perspective on their school work. Henrietta's and Michelle's attitude to subject choice is a good example of this - they were the only two girls to be thinking about what they might do with their subjects, after an initial course, in terms of the subjects themselves, and not just jobs.

inclusion of Latin in the '0' grade course.(7) The following three quotes are typical reactions to my enquiries about parental attitudes.

Philippa: (5) 'My parents? They said I could - well they were quite pleased I was doing Sciences but they didn't say I had to.'

Clare: (6) 'No, Mum just said "It's up to you" and my father said the same, "You do what you want to do, and something that you'll like doing".'

Geraldine: (3) 'Mummy thought it would be a good idea to give up Science and I did as well - at least, I was going to give it up and Mummy said it was a good idea 'cos she was fed up of my moaning all the time.'

Advice from the school seemed to have been mainly designed to steer girls away from courses the staff felt unsuitable, rather than as guidance towards particular options.(8) Exceptions to this were Mrs Michaels's advice to Jill, given above, and an incident reported to me by Esther:

(7) Several girls told me of parental pressure to take Latin as far as '0' grade, and in all cases the parents were under the impression that '0' grade Latin was necessary for university entrance in all subjects, including medicine and sciences. Of the nine girls doing Latin and Sciences, three disliked Biology (Jackie said, 'I don't like cutting things up'), three said they liked Latin, and three that their parents wanted them to take it. Among the linguists taking Spanish, who were not obliged to take Latin, only Geraldine said she was doing Latin because she liked it; Caitlin said she took Latin 'Because my parents make me'.
(8) Wendy said she had been advised to take Sciences by a teacher at her previous school.

'I don't know why I did German. I was going to do Sciences and Mrs French told me I should do German - I'd be better at Languages.'(9)

Specialisation - The Overall Picture

The overall picture of specialisation at St Luke's is one of relatively free choice for the most able girls, who chose subjects they liked, felt they were better at, and saw as more useful. The girls seen as less able by the school were guided more firmly into areas seen as 'appropriate', while a few pupils were prevented from taking so many subjects it is not very meaningful to talk of choices at all.

When I analysed the interview data on subject choice I was surprised to find such a close correspondence between perceived ability, liking, and interest in the girls' accounts. I had expected at least some girls to recount dilemmas between subjects which they had enjoyed but found

(9) If this is an accurate account of what took place it seems very peculiar, as Esther was in the lower divisions for French and Latin, and did not appear to be more able at languages than several other girls who had been forbidden, or advised against starting, German by Mrs French; including Vanessa, Gale and Caitlin. Philippa, who was in the upper sets for both French and Latin, had been advised against doing German by Miss Paris. Nancy and Vanessa had, in fact, both chosen to take two Science 'O' grades because they had been advised against German, and Cheryl told me that she was doing Spanish because: 'Mrs French said German would be too difficult.'

extremely difficult and subjects which were not highly favoured but produced good results for them. However the only conflicts recounted were those between their desires and the perceptions of the staff about their abilities, and none of the girls seemed to doubt the wisdom of the school. For the majority of the year, liking, interest, and ability were inextricably linked.

At first I decided that this close relationship between the three factors was caused by the timing of the research, which took place after the girls had embarked on their chosen courses. Once a choice had been made the correspondence might be exaggerated, presenting the decision in the most rational light, to avoid 'cognitive dissonance'. (See Festinger, 1956.) However, the results of three other studies on subject choice, using similar questions (Wilkinson, 1967; Cowan, 1971; and McPherson, 1971) showed that a close relationship between enjoyment, the self-perception of ability, and interest, was a common finding, whether the research was carried out before or after the actual choices are made.

The close association still intrigued me, however, and I carried out a further investigation into attitudes towards subject choice. This research is discussed in Appendix 2. Briefly, the St Luke's girls were asked to imagine a forced choice between a subject they liked but did only moderately well in and another they got high marks for but liked less. In this hypothetical situation, only

ten per cent of the sample said that the subject with the high mark should be taken in preference to the favoured one. (Eighty five per cent of the girls said that teachers would advise taking the subject with the better mark.)

The Correlates of Specialisation

Specialisation in languages or sciences was not significantly associated with overall scholastic success; with future plans; or with clique membership. That is, neither languages nor science had attracted a disproportionate number of the brightest girls; specialists on both 'sides' were equally likely to be going to university;(10) and members of all cliques had chosen both languages and sciences. Table 5:2 shows the number of girls in each clique taking the various courses, and the spread is obvious from the table.(11)

(10) Further education intentions are related to Academic score, with those girls who had higher academic scores being significantly more likely to be planning to go on to university. (X^2, p = .01, 4 d.f.)

(11) Clique membership and academic score <u>are</u> related, as we have seen in the previous chapter. Girls in Cliques 3 and 4 are more likely to have poor academic scores than the others (X^2, p = .0031, 8 d.f. and X^2, p = .01, 12 d.f.)

TABLE 5:2

Choice of 'O' Grade Course by Clique Membership

No. of Girls taking:	Cliques: 1	2	3	4	5	6	Isol.
All Science	4	6	0	3	2	2	1
Science & Latin	3	2	1	0	3	0	0
Languages	3	2	3	1	2	1	1
Non-University	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
Total girls in Clique	10	12	4	4	7	3	3

This table concludes the section on subject choice. Attitudes towards the basic or 'core' curriculum are considered next; and then the implications for the classroom of the two sets of material are discussed.

THE CORE CURRICULUM

The girls' perspectives on their basic curriculum are an important element in the classroom process. This section presents material on attitudes towards the five 'core' subjects taught to all pupils. (Maths and Arithmetic, English, French, History and Geography.) These data are drawn from responses to the questionnaire given before field-work began, and the interview. (See Appendix 3 for details of questionnaires and the interview schedule.)

On the initial questionnaire girls were asked to state which subjects they found hardest and easiest, which was their favourite, and which they got their best marks in.(12) Then, during the interview I asked each girl how she felt about her basic curriculum, and whether it contained any subjects she would like to drop. Table 5:3 shows the number of mentions in each category which the basic subjects received.(13) This table gives some insight into the sample's overall perception of their core curriculum.

It is clear from Table 5:3 that the school's policy of putting all girls into 'O' grade courses in both History

(12) The precise working was: 'Which subject do you find the easiest? And which the hardest? Which is your favourite subject? And which do you get your best marks in?'
(13) The girls, were, of course, free to mention subjects outside the core curriculum in answer to the four enquiries on the initial questionnaire. However, the five core subjects were mentioned 117 times, and all the other subjects 69 times. The optional subjects are not, therefore, included on Table 5:3, because the core subjects are more salient, and so the table is kept simple.

TABLE 5:3

Pupil Attitudes to the Basic Curriculum Subjects - St Luke's

Teacher	Set	Subject	No. of Girls	Number of Mentions as: 'Easiest'	'Hardest'	'Favourite'	'Best Marks'	'Like to Drop'
Napier	A	Maths	22	5	5	5	6	0
Newton	B	Maths	21	3	6	4	3	4
Milton	A	English	21	3	1	6	2	0
Keats	B	English	22	3	2	1	4	2
Paris	B	French	20	8	4	3	2	1
French	B	French	23	6	2	0	5	2
Hill	A	Geography	18	1	2	0	3	12
Dale	B & C	Geography	14 & 11	2	2	2	3	5
Flodden	A & C	History	2 & 9	1	3	1	1	5
Bruce	B	History	11	1	1	3	2	2

Notes on Table 5:3

This table shows the number of mentions of each basic subject (those taken by all the girls) given in answer to the five questions described in the text. The figures are given separately for each teaching group - that is by teacher and set. Thus, for example, the number of girls naming Maths as their hardest subject in the 'A' and 'B' sets can be directly compared. Where two sets were taught by the same member of staff the figures are given together to simplify the table.

and Geography was not popular with the pupils. Only one girl said she would like to drop both, but twenty-one people (approximately half the sample) said they wanted to drop one or the other.(14) Geography is obviously the most unpopular basic subject, especially among those taught by Mrs Hill, where two-thirds of the set wished to drop it. The table also shows that, while few girls said that they wished to drop Maths, French or English(15) in each case the majority of those who do are in the lower set.

Consequences for the Classroom

A recent collection of papers (Young, 1971) discussed educational sociology's relative neglect of the social organisation and control of knowledge in the education system. One paper in that collection (Keddie, 1971) centres on the social definitions of knowledge and ability in a comprehensive school; with particular emphasis on the 'typification' functions which streaming had for the staff, with consequences for the presentation of curriculum materials.

(14) The commonest reason advanced was that 'It's a waste of time doing both'. Having said that, girls added that they would drop whichever one they liked least or thought they were worse at. Reasons produced for disliking History echoed Belinda's complaint: 'I just don't see the point in learning what people did a hundred years ago'. Those girls who disliked Geography echoed Barbara: 'You don't really seem to learn about the places - just lists of towns and industries'.

(15) All the girls who said they wished they could drop one of these three subjects added that 'in fact' they would take them as far as 'O' grade even if they had the choice of dropping them because passes were needed for anything which they would want to do after leaving school.

in the classroom. Chapter 10 of this thesis touches upon such social definitions - in particular on the perspectives which girls and teachers bring to the classroom process.

The girls' short-term and long-term perspectives are important for the understanding of classroom events. One 'ingredient' of their long-term perspective, further education and career plans, is dealt with in the following section. To conclude this one, I want to sketch some typical classroom consequences of the girls' attitudes towards their optional and core subjects.

The Physics class is a case in point. The school's policy of restricting entry to the course on the grounds of its difficulty, had repercussions for interaction in the laboratory. For example, the girls had internalized the characterisation of the subject, and their expectations about what they would and could learn were 'defeatist'.(16) A typical incident from my field-notes illustrates the point:

(16) Physics got 5 mentions as the 'hardest' subject, and none in any other category. In interviews over half the group told me that 'no-one' understood Physics except Charmian. The characterisation had also become general among girls not doing the course - Clique 4 girls told me that Isabelle's illness (anorexia nervosa) was due to her being forced to take Physics - a 'folk myth' or 'lay psychiatric' explanation which emphasises the internalised perception of the subject.

4 & 5/Tu/4[17]

> 'Mrs Cavendish asks who has a good set of results tabulated (for Fleur to copy) - no-one seems to have them properly. She then asks who didn't understand how to work out acceleration (to calculate the results). Over half put up their hands to admit this.'

Similarly, the following week:

4 & 5/Tu/5

> 'Mrs Cavendish starts lesson by announcing "Last week you discovered an important relationship". Greeted by ironic laughs.'

These two extracts show vividly that the girls are very unsure of their competence in Physics. They doubt their ability to have discovered an important relationship, or to have a set of correct results. In consequence they are slow in responding to Mrs Cavendish's attempts at dialogue - often they were totally silent when she asked a question. Her teaching, and their learning are both affected by the initial characterisation.

Geography in Mrs Hill's classes is another good example. Two-thirds of the set are unwilling 'conscripts'. This has various consequences for the interaction. Mrs Hill's 'scores' on the Flanders' system differ sharply from the other Geography and History teachers (who form a group with similar styles), as Chapter 7 shows. Observing the

(17) All extracts from my field-notes are prefaced by a 'formula' of this type. The first digit or digits refer to the lesson(s); the letter(s) to the day of the week; and the final digit to the week of the field-work period.

lessons I was reminded of a 'sparring match' or 'confrontation', for the girls seemed to 'bargain' for points with Mrs Hill. Chapter 10 examines one incident in a lesson in some detail.

These are two examples where clear relationships between pupil perspectives about a subject and classroom actions can be traced. Others occur in the rest of the thesis, either relating to individual girls or to groups.

SECTION 2 - FURTHER EDUCATION AND CAREER INTENTIONS

As we have already seen, St Luke's is an academic school, and this atmosphere is reflected in the further education and career plans of the girls I studied. My sample expressed their intentions in a questionnaire one year before their 'O' grade examinations.(18) Table 5:4 shows the sample's future plans for both education and eventual jobs. The table shows that of the forty-two girls who completed the questionnaire 29 (69%) said they hoped to go on to university, 4 girls (9.5%) to a College of Education, 6 girls (14.2%) to some other form of higher education, and the remaining three did not know. The desire to go on to a university is significantly related to taking a course based on Classics, Modern Languages or Science, rather than a mixed course or one including Needlework.(19)

(18) This questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix 3.
(19) Using X^2 p = 0.0006, 2 d.f.) As mentioned earlier, scientists were no more or less likely to be intending to go to university than linguists.

TABLE 5:4

Further Education and Career Plans - St Luke's Sample

Intending University

Name & Clique	Career Intention
Penny (5)	'Don't know'
Evelyn (5)	Professional Musician/Music Teacher
Philippa (5)	Zoology Research
Charmian (5)	Systems Analyst
Jill (5)	Lawyer/Classics Teacher
Michelle (5)	Genetics/Demography/Marxist MP
Henrietta (5)	Medicine
Selina (6)	'Don't know'
Clare (6)	'Don't know'
Karen (1)	'Something scientific'
Alexandra (1)	Auxiliary Medical Services
Mary (1)	'Don't know'
Fleur (1)	'Don't know'
Jackie (1)	Dentist
Eleanor (1)	Vet
Janice (1)	Social work/Music Teacher
Lorraine (2)	Medicine
Katherine (2)	Advocate
Tessa (2)	Maths Teacher/Agriculture
Zoe (2)	'Don't know'
Monica (2)	Lawyer/P E Teacher
Caitlin (2)	Social Work/'Something with languages'
Vanessa (2)	'Something Scientific'
Nancy (2)	Primary Teacher
Louise (2)	Social Work/Auxiliary Medical Services
Belinda (3)	'Don't know'
Rosalind (4)	Architecture
Sharon (4)	'Something with horses'
Deborah	Family Business

Table 5:4 continued.

Intending College of Education

Name & Clique	Career Intention
Yvonne (2)	'Something with Children'
Lorna (3)	Drama Teacher
Frances (4)	Primary Teacher
Una	'Ski for Britain'/Primary Teacher

Other Further Education

Hazel (1)	Auxiliary Medical Services
Barbara (1)	Secretary
Esther (1)	Secretary
Angela (6)	Computer Programmer
Olivia (2)	Art School/'Don't know'
Cheryl (3)	Actress/Drama Teacher

Undecided about Further Education

Gale (2)	Social Work/Children's Nurse
Geraldine (3)	Wholesale Shoe Buyer
Wendy	'Don't know'

Table 5:4 also shows the cliques to which each girl belonged, but it is clear from an examination of the table that the desire to go to university is spread so widely throughout the sample that there is no significant relationship between clique membership and further education plans. The same is true of the eventual careers which the sample have in mind, for the members of each clique are considering a range of different occupations.

Approximately a quarter of the sample said they had no particular career in mind, when asked on the questionnaire, and all of these girls repeated this when I interviewed them. Another four girls gave only a subject area (i.e. 'something with languages') rather than naming any particular job. This left twenty-eight girls who had one or more careers in mind at the age of fifteen.

An examination of the occupations mentioned by the girls shows that most of them are conventional - in the main professions and traditional female areas. Two girls, Evelyn and Cheryl, want to make their living in the creative arts, but both told me during their interviews that they expected to 'end up' teaching their subjects. Deborah, an only child, was destined to inherit her family business, and Geraldine wanted to be a buyer, but otherwise the girls shunned the world of commerce. Tessa's second choice of an agricultural career is the only truly rural one, apart from Sharon's desire to do 'something with horses'. The most unexpected career is probably Michelle's - she wanted

to do something with population genetics or demography, and then be a Marxist MP. A detailed comparison between the career plans of the St Luke's sample; those of a mixed sample from other Edinburgh schools; and the study of seventeen Scottish schools, (Butcher, 1969) is presented in Appendix 2. The St Luke's sample are shown to be aiming for careers more common to boys than to girls from other schools. Clique 5 are all 'aiming for the professions'. The members of other cliques are divided between those thinking of a profession; those going into one of the traditional female occupations of teaching, social work, the ancilliary medical services and secretarial work; and those with 'unusual' occupations in mind.

Michelle's ambition, to be an MP, could be seen as a 'dream' job, rather in the way that Selina explained her original career amibtions: 'I used to have a starry-eyed idea of being a ballerina in a tutu and everything, but now I realise that you have to be so good I'd never attempt it.' Dealing with similar material from adolescents, Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966) have separated occupational choices into two categories, 'aspirations' and 'expectations'. They point out that most adolescents keep the two categories distinct, and whereas the jobs they aspire to are desirable, those they expect to obtain need not be, but are 'more closely related to existing occupational opportunities than are aspirations'.

Kuvlesky and Bealer go on to say that aspirations and

expectations may be congruent, but are unlikely to be, although the higher the socio-economic status of the adolescent, the more probable it is that the two coincide. A re-examination of Table 5:4 shows that eleven of the girls have two different occupations in mind, of which six might be seen as evidence of a different aspiration and expectation.(20) The other five appear to be genuine alternatives of equal status. The only girl who had nothing but a 'dream' aspiration is Sharon, who insisted that she would do any job as long as it involved horses.

During their interviews I asked each girl why she was considering the career which she mentioned on her initial questionnaire. Most of the girls who were thinking of jobs in the fields of social work, the auxiliary medical services and primary teaching, told me that they had 'always wanted to do something with people'. Quotes from Frances and Nancy summarise the feelings of this group.(21) Frances told me:

(20) The alternative careers by Evelyn, Jill, Cheryl, Monica, Una and Michelle all support the idea of separate aspirations and expectations.

(21) It is interesting that many of the girls thinking of 'people' jobs come from Clique 2, and were those girls who were most involved in mixed activities. In one way this is what one might expect, in that girls who start playing the role of 'girlfriend' early in adolescence would be most likely to see their careers in the traditional women's occupations. However, none of these girls <u>said</u> that they thought of these jobs because they were 'suitable for women' or combined well with marriage. Rather they all admitted to being motivated by strong social consciences. This concern for society contrasts oddly with the supposed hedonism and commercialism of the 'youth culture' in which they were involved.

> 'I've wanted to do primary teaching ever since I was little. I've looked after children - I've got three sisters, I used to help with a creche at the Church - and I like children'.

Nancy elaborated on this point, and explained her own views ...

> 'I think I've always wanted to do something like - primary or infant teaching - I - well I wouldn't like to do it in a private school - I'd like to teach in a Corporation school because the kids - if you got them doing something it would give them great satisfaction 'cos they're deprived. They'd get much more enjoyment from drawing a picture or something'.

The other girls tended to give the intrinsic interest of their chosen field as the main reason for wanting to take it up. Interest was often seen as being related to the interest of the school subject area which they were taking as preparation for the job. Charmian told me why she was thinking of work with computers ... 'It seems interesting, and connected with Maths - and Maths is gorgeous - it's always been my best subject'.

SECTION 3 - THE PUPIL'S CLASSROOM ROLE

Throughout the previous chapter and the first two sections of this one, various aspects of the pupils' lives, inside and outside the school, have been discussed and described. In this, the final section of the more discursive part of the thesis, the girls' perceptions of the classroom role are introduced in their own words, as a prelude to the model given in Chapter 10 and the systematic observation data on how they actually behaved in lessons, (Chapter 7).

During their interviews each girl was asked what sort of behaviour characterised the girls liked by teachers - the 'Good Pupil' - and those disliked by the staff - the 'Bad Pupil'.[22] An analysis of the responses to these questions gives some information on the common perspectives of appropriate pupil behaviour. The most noticeable feature of the answers was the greater degree of concensus about what constitutes bad behaviour. Of the 38 girls interviewed, 21 produced the same example of 'bad' behaviour, while only 14 were agreed on any one 'good' characteristic. Then, it was striking that the majority of 'bad' behaviours were in the sphere of discipline, while the 'good' features are more academic. Some typical comments from the interview transcripts follow:[23]

<u>The Good Pupil</u>

> 'Answering - always have the right answer. Being tidy - if you're very reliable - work hard and try hard - doing your best.' (Gale - Clique 2)
>
> 'Work well, try their hardest, answer a lot in class and pay attention. Teachers like people who just improve every term and try their best.' (Frances - 4)
>
> 'All teachers like people who try - are hardworking.' (Eleanor - 1)

(22) The Interview schedule is reproduced in Appendix 3.
(23) The comments given were taken 'blind' from a list of all responses, until I felt a representative selection were presented.

'Paying attention and asking sensible questions' (Karen - 1)

'Try and be good at the subject, always listen and never answer back.' (Caitlin - 2)

'Some teachers can tell when you're trying to be one of their little pets - like going up and cleaning the blackboard when you're not told to. Some are taken in by that and some aren't. I think just to work hard and get into as least trouble as possible.' (Clare - 6)

'Almost anyone who will listen to a teacher and make occasional comments can be popular - the better you are the better they are likely to like you, but I think it's basically liking the subject.' (Henrietta - 5)

The Bad Pupil

'Can't be bothered, play around in lessons and don't pay attention.' (Yvonne - 2)

'Not attending, not learning, fooling around.' (Philippa - 5)

'Unwillingness to work - laziness - I think that's the chief - and cheekiness.' (Lorna - 3)

'Talking, not paying attention - distracting others.' (Zoe - 2)

'People that don't try - just sit and fidget during lessons.' (Cheryl - 3)

'Shout out, fool around, not hand in prep.' (Barbara - 1)

'Not paying attention.' (Wendy

These comments reveal the 'feel' of the two types of pupil, as envisaged by the girls. The good pupil is

hard working and attentive, while the bad pupil is a discipline problem. There is, however, another aspect of the girls' conception of the type of pupil teachers liked and disliked. It is clear from the transcripts that teachers are believed to like girls who are passive and conformist - those who sit in the class answering the teacher's questions, and do not try to change the focus of the lesson, or offer alternative perspectives upon it.(24) A second selection of quotes from pupil responses illustrates this point:

The Good, or Conformist, Pupil

> 'People who keep quiet and just answer the right thing at the right time.' (Rosalind - Clique 4)
>
> 'Be quiet, not arguing.' (Jackie - 1)
>
> 'Have to try - and it helps to be good at the subject - Always say "yes" to them, always agree with them.' (Olivia - 2)
>
> 'You'd have to not say what you think. Be polite to all the teachers.' (Tessa - 2)
>
> 'Clever, do their prep, don't bother the teachers.' (Barbara - 1)

(24) Of course, the girls pointed out that not all teachers liked the same behaviour from pupils, and therefore answered the questions in terms of their perceptions of what 'most teachers' liked and disliked. As Geraldine told me: 'Some people (like Mrs Flodden) like you to be very keen - always wanting you to do projects - while others don't mind as long as you do what's on the syllabus'.

The Bad, or Non-Conformist, Pupil

'Well things like always saying something stupid - Volunteering what they think, irrelevancies.' (Rosalind - 4. Emphasis mine)

'Blurting things out in class.' (Esther - 1)

'Asking stupid questions in class.' 'What sort of questions?' 'Obvious questions.' (Hazel - 1)

'Have your own point of view and let them know.' (Caitlin - 2)

'Teachers don't like criticism or arguing.' (Barbara - 1)

'Voicing your opinions all over the place, making a nuisance of yourself. Quibbling - it's stupid to do that to a teacher, you'll get yourself a bad name straightaway.' (Monica - 2. Emphasis mine)

'People who disagree with the staff.' (Olivia - 2)
'Always crossing them and so forth.' (Jill - 5)

'People who never put their hands up and even try to answer a question - people who don't listen in class like me - there are some people like Sharon who put up their hands and make miscellaneous remarks which I think must be pretty irritating - oh and not learn- your vocab.' (Charmian - 5)

Table 5:5 shows the main headings under which I classified the girls' responses concerning good and bad pupils. The perceived teacher preference for girls who conform - that is who accept the teacher's definition of the situation without demur - is evident from this table. It is also apparent that the girls did not believe their

TABLE 5:5

Girls' Perceptions of the Pupil Role

a. Characteristics of the Good Pupil.(1)

Rank	Characteristic	No. of girls (n=38)
1	'Try one's best'	14
	'Have ability in the subject'	14
	'Work hard'/'Not the lazy ones'	14
4	'Answer in class'	12
5	'Don't bother them//'Don't argue'/ 'Never answer back'	10
6	'Take an interest'/'Be keen'	8
7	'<u>Not</u> people who suck up'	7
8	'Be natural'/'Cheerful'/'Pleasant'	5
	'It's just your character'/'Girls they like'/'Good personalities'	5
10	'Those who suck up//'Volunteer to clean board'/'Do jobs'	4
	'Well behaved'	4
	'Pay attention	4
13	'Be reliable'	3

Table 5:5 continued.

b. Characteristics of the Bad Pupil

Rank	Characteristic	No. of girls
1	'Talking (to other girls) in class'/'Playing around in lessons'	21
2	'Disobey them'/'Answer back'/'Rude'/'Cheeky'	14
3	'Not paying attention'/'Not concentrating'	12
4	'Volunteering irrelevancies'/'Making miscellaneous remarks'	10
5	'Not trying'/'Lazy'/'Can't be bothered'	8
6	'Not learning work'	4
	'Making it difficult for them'	4
	'Don't hand in prep'	4
	'Not taking an interest'	4
10	'Arguing with teachers'	3

Notes on Table 5:5.

(1) These categories of response were chosen after reading through all the answers to the interview questions. The categories were subsequently shown to several independent people, whose comments and criticisms resulted in some small amendments.

teachers appreciated such qualities as 'creativity', 'critical thinking' or 'independence' in their pupils, however much modern educational theory implies that they should be encouraged.

The good pupil is, therefore, regarded as conformist - at least in her outward classroom behaviour. I examined the responses to see if syllabus-free girls accepted the perceptions of the form-mates, and found that they did. The same beliefs about popularity with the staff were produced by members of all cliques, and by syllabus-free girls, intermediates, and syllabus-bound girls alike.

Personal and Popularity and Classroom Behaviour

The second stage of my enquiry into the pupils' perceptions of appropriate classroom behaviour dealt with individuals and not with overall characterisations. My intention was to discover whether the same characteristics would be used to 'explain' the preferences of individual teachers for and against particular girls as had been produced in answer to the general questions. Accordingly, later in the interview another series of questions was asked which covered the specific preferences and dislikes of the various individuals on the staff, to see whether the general perceptions held by the girls were paralleled by perceptions of the attitudes of individual teachers. The second half of the interview consisted mainly of

eliciting the constructs which my sample used to describe their teachers via the Repertory Grid 'triads' technique.(25) One of the constructs which appeared was personal liking - girls would differentiate between teachers on the grounds that they liked or disliked them; or - alternatively - that the teachers liked or disliked them. When the latter constructs were produced I asked which other girls were liked and disliked by that teacher. Then, later in the interview I asked a similar question: were there any teachers who she felt 'picked on' her, or any teachers she 'got on particularly well with'. If, and only if, any names were mentioned, I again asked for the names of other girls liked and disliked by those teachers. This gave me a picture of the perceived preferences of the individual teachers(26) and the perceived and self-perceived popularity of the individual girls. The data produced by these questions reinforce the conclusions of the more general enquiry about ideal types.

(25) See Kelly (1955) and Bannister and Fransella (1971) for details of the Repertory Grid technique, and Nash (1972a) for an adapted use of it with teachers. Briefly, I wrote the teachers' names on separate cards, and presented each girl with three names at a time, asking her to say 'ways in which two are alike and the third different' until all descriptions of that triad were exhausted. This was repeated until every combination of three was tried, or the constructs became repetitive.

(26) These perceptions held by the girls about their staff's attitudes are not intended as a report of the actual attitudes of the teachers. The 'accuracy' of the pupils' views is irrelevant to my argument here, but my informal discussions with staff suggest that most of the girls were 'right' about 75% of the time.

Table 5:6 shows the number of 'nominations' as popular and unpopular girls, broken down according to their scores on the syllabus-bound/syllabus-free inventory. It is clear from the table that intellectual independence is not perceived as a characteristic which endears girls to the teachers - the thirteen syllabus-free girls in the sample are mentioned 58 times as disliked by various staff members.

TABLE 5:6

Popularity of Sylbs, Sylfs and Intermediates - Girls' perceptions of Teacher Preferences

	Syllabus-Bound (n=12)	Syllabus-Free (n=13)	Intermediate (n=17)
Mentioned as:			
'Liked'	49	35	83
'Disliked'	25	58	38

This table could represent very few individuals who were always mentioned by their form-mates in answer to my enquiries. In fact this is not the case. Four syllabus-bound girls were never mentioned as 'disliked', but only one syllabus-bound girl was never mentioned as 'liked'. In contrast, five syllabus-free girls lackes any nominations as 'liked', while only one was never mentioned as 'disliked'. While the high number of intermediates mentioned as 'liked' by teachers precludes one from equating the good, or conformist, pupil of the stereo-

type with the syllabus-bound girl, it is clear that intellectual independence is related to perceived unpopularity with the staff.(27)

Table 5:6 could, of course, be concealing a discrepancy between two or more differing sets of nominations - syllabus-free girls might be nominating syllabus-bound girls as unpopular, or vice versa, However, this is not the case. Irrespective of the study-habits of the nominee, the syllabus-free girls are seen as unpopular with teachers. Table 5:7 shows this clearly.

This table shows that syllabus-bound girls, though they nominate as many sylfs as they do sylbs as 'liked' are unlikely to see sylbs as unpopular, but are likely to see syllabus-free girls as disliked by staff. Syllabus-bound and intermediate girls are more likely to see members of those two groups as liked by staff, and less likely to see them as unpopular.

TABLE 5:7

Perceived Popularity with Staff and Study-habits -
Nominations made by, and given to, Sylbs, Sylfs and Intermediates

a) Pupils Perceived as Liked by Staff

	Syllabus-Bound (n=12)	Syllabus-Free (n=13)	Intermediates (n=17)
Nominated by:			
Sylbs	27	7	27
Sylfs	15	15	23
Intermediates	7	13	30

b) Pupils Perceived as Disliked by Staff

	Syllabus-Bound	Syllabus-Free	Intermediates
Nominated by:			
Sylbs	13	12	5
Sylfs	5	32	11
Intermediates	8	14	20

Summary and Classroom Consequences

Thus we have seen that, when the St Luke's girls were asked to describe the 'good' pupil, they characterised her not only as attentive and well-behaved, but also as lacking in intellectual independence. Similarly, 'bad' pupils are discipline problems and/or those girls who challenge the teacher's definitions of situations. When asked to discuss particular cases of girls liked and disliked by individual staff, the syllabus-free girls in the sample were particularly prone to be mentioned as unpopular. These beliefs about staff preferences were held with equal firmness by syllabus-free girls as by the remainder.(28)

The consequences of these beliefs for the classroom are obvious. If disagreeing with teacher, voicing one's own opinions, or making any contribution which is not a 'right answer' leads to unpopularity with staff, only girls who are independent enough to risk their popularity, or who value their own ideas highly will attempt to contribute them.(29) The main body of the class will generally

(28) When faced with a situation in which a sylf had just explained to me that 'teachers' did not like the pattern of classroom behaviour which the syllabus-free girls in the sample typically manifested (See Chapter 7) two different 'rationalisations' were produced. Girls either admitted that because they behaved in a non-conformist manner in the classroom teachers did not like them; or explained a 'double-standard' in their perceptions, in which other girls' 'irrelevancies' were unpopular, while their comments were, they claimed, always succinct.

(29) In a school such as the Secondary modern described by Hargreaves (1967) pupils who valued their positions of leadership in a clique which was in rebellion against school norms might also flaunt standards of 'appropriate behaviour' to gain peer approval, but at St Luke's this negative motivation was not apparent.

concentrate on answering the teacher's questions, and will follow Zoe's advice: 'Be quiet in lessons, pay attention, answer when you know and make sensible guesses'. The study of the actual patterns of classroom speech, in the following two chapters, show how these beliefs affected pupils' behaviour.

CHAPTER 6

SYSTEMATIC CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

An Overview of the Field - Discussion of the Two Methods Used

> 'This is equivalent to saying that you can arrange your butterflies according to their colour, or their size, or the shape of their wings according to the whim of the moment, but no matter what you do this will be science. Well perhaps, in a sense, it is; but you must realise that your prior arrangement creates an initial bias from which it is later extremely difficult to escape.'
>
> (Leach, 1961. p. 3)

Introduction

This chapter concentrates on systematic classroom observation. It starts with an overview of the field; how the techniques evolved, and the powers attributed to them by their proponents. Then it discusses the two methods used in my research and outlines the ways in which they were used during the study. The data collected with the two methods are presented in the following chapter.

Why Systematic Techniques?

Chapter One described briefly how both systematic and unstructured observation techniques were used during my research. This chapter concentrates on systematic techniques in general; and on two particular systems: one the best known and most widely used of them all, Flanders's categories for studying teacher style; the other devised for this project, focusing on pupil talk. Before discussing the literature of systematic techniques as a whole, and the special features of the two used for this study, it is necessary to outline the reasons for devising a system of my own, and for choosing the Flanders system.

The main aim of my study was to look for any differences which existed between the speech behaviours of individual pupils in the classroom. The traditional classroom, in which one person, usually the teacher, talks while everyone else sits in silence (the setting in which the type of pupil in whom I was interested spends the largest proportion of her school life) did not permit the use of the observation methods practised by the symbolic interactionists (Becker et al.; 1961, 1968). These methods assume that the observers can talk to the subjects of the study during their activities; something quite impossible in a school like St Luke's. In addition, Becker and his collaborators, though proficient at establishing the common perspectives of the majority of students, did not manage to

show differences between sub-groups, or individuals - these are simply defined as subsidiary to the common perspectives. This degree of generality would obviously not be sufficient to prove the hypothesis that sylbs and sylfs acted differently in lessons. Instead, "harder" data seemed necessary, and some kind of systematic record essential. An examination of the literature then available on systematic observation showed that there was nothing suitable in existence, so I found it necessary to devise a set of categories which would preserve the information about classroom speech so that I could test my hypothesis. The system I developed at The Laurels, and used at St Luke's, is described in this chapter, and the resultant data given in the next.

My reasons for deciding to use the Flanders system in the classroom were partly pragmatic: Flanders's technique is widely known, easy to learn without formal training, well suited to schools like St Luke's, which have long periods of interaction in orderly classrooms.(1) The Flanders's system also had a sound theoretical argument in its favour: it deals with an aspect of classroom climate which should be closely related to the behaviour of independent and dependent pupils.

(1) In addition, it has one very useful characteristic. The observer writes down a series of apparently meaningless numbers, so that inquisitive pupils and teachers who come and look at one's notebook retreat baffled. Curiosity diminishes during the field work, but the FIAC codings keep one's work secret in the early stages.

SECTION 1 - SYSTEMATIC OBSERVATION TECHNIQUES

A comprehensive review of the literature of systematic classroom observation would be difficult to compile, and largely superfluous. The field is a rapidly expanding one, so a detailed review would be both enormous, and quickly outdated. Moreover, there is a full-time bibliographer, Anita Simon, whose professional energies are devoted to cataloging and disseminating research on classroom observation.(2) There are also several overviews of the research area, which give more or less critical appraisals of the research completed to date.(3) This chapter is not intended as a recapitulation of extant reviews - instead the main points are summarised in enough detail to allow the reader to understand how this project fits into the general pattern of studies of classroom phenomena, and the points of difference from other researchers.

The climate of opinion accepting classroom observation as a respectable method of research in education began in the late fifties, and has accelerated rapidly in the subsequent fifteen years. The initial impetus for the trend was a sense of dissatisfaction with orthodox educational research methods among some of the leading educational

(2) See Simon and Boyer; (1968, 1970); and the journal, Classroom Interaction Newsletter; (1965-1972).
(3) See Medley and Mitzel; (1963); Biddle; (1967); Nuthall; (1970); and Flanders; (1970).

psychologists in America. Typical of these was John Withall, who wrote a paper with W. Lewis in 1963 expressing the following doubts about the then dominant kind of educational research;

> 'Until very recently the approach to the analysis of teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interaction in the learning situation was that of examining and quantifying certain "monadic" variables, such as the teacher's training and experience, the learners' socioeconomic status and intellectual capacities, the goals of the schools and community, and the materials provided to help achieve those goals. The examination of such variables has tended to be unrewarding and sterile. Researchers thus tried to examine social processes or interactions through static means. It was long believed that if we manipulated one or two variables, we could create conditions that would ensure both predictability and control of the quality and type of learning. Much experience has shown that this expectation is unsupported; that variables in the learning situation interact with each other in kaleidoscopic complexity, and that specification of the interactions and outcomes is extremely difficult.'
>
> (Withall and Lewis; 1963, p. 708.)

This kind of dissatisfaction with educational experiments based on what Parlett and Hamilton (1972) have called the 'agricultural-botany paradigm' has become even more widespread in the decade since Withall and Lewis's expression of it. In addition, many of the leading

educational researchers, who had received their professional socialisation in psychology rather than any of the other human sciences, were particularly influenced by another, contrasting trend in education. Gage and Unruh have described this influence on educational psychology as follows:

> 'A revolution in teaching is being fomented. If successful, it will overthrow the hegemony of the centuries-old pattern whereby one teacher and 20 to 40 pupils engage for most kinds of instruction in a teacher-dominated discourse... If the revolution succeeds the teacher will spend much less time each day with groups of students in time-honoured ways - discussing, lecturing, tutoring, demonstrating, and so on. And such traditional activities will need to be justified rather than taken for granted. In short, a spectre is haunting research on teaching - the spectre of programmed instruction.'
>
> (Gage and Unruh; 1967)

In summary then, some researchers in educational psychology have, in the last fifteen years, become increasingly convinced of the 'sterility' of experiments with monadic variables, and aware of the 'spectre' of programmed learning, particularly the flexible computer-assisted instruction systems in use. (See, for example, Stolurow; 1965; Papert and Solomon; 1971.) Faced with a whole school of experts who wanted to abandon human teaching in favour of texts, machines or computers, (on the grounds that research had shown the classroom to be

hopelessly inefficient, and that no variables could be found which could be shown to improve it) it is not surprising that some educationalists, such as Philip Jackson, opposed to the de-humanising of teaching, abandoned 'paper and pencil' research in favour of going into the classroom to discover its unique features. (See Jackson; 1966.)

In addition to finding their own research with monadic variables disappointing, and being under pressure from exponents of programmed learning, many of those who have turned to classroom research since the fifties were aware that in their capacity as teacher trainers, they were turning students out into the schools to handle an increasingly difficult situation with an increasingly irrelevant body of literature to help them.(4) The researchers involved in training teachers were also concerned with that elusive quality 'teacher effectiveness', which became a well-funded area after the Sputnik scare of 1956, when it seemed particularly important to discover how teachers could impart the maximum amount of knowledge to their pupils. This research area had been the province of monadic variable research par excellence; and so it was in this field that much classroom observation was concentrated, as the

(4) The sense of disillusion with America's schools is expressed most forcibly by the 'de-schoolers' and other 'crisis' writers (e.g. Postman and Weingarten, 1969) but similar sentiments, less polemically expressed, can be found in the works of all the great classroom observers, Flanders (1970); Taba (1964); Biddle and Ellena (1964) and others.

researchers were disappointed with previous studies, and pressed by their student teachers to find some answers.

These various influences both helped the search for new kinds of educational research, especially classroom observation; and produced obvious consequences for the directions in which that search was directed. An examination of the literature on classroom observation shows these effects clearly. One of the most immediate results was the emphasis on developing systematic techniques, and the neglect of unstructured observation.(5) Because of their backgrounds in experimental educational psychology, most of the researchers, though disenchanted with the rigour of manipulating monadic variables, were (and are) still concerned with being <u>scientific</u>. Systematic techniques, with their pre-determined categories set out on printed schedules and their inter-observer reliabilities, are seen as much more scientific than unstructured, intuitive observation.(6)

There have been other consequences than the search for scientific methods. The influence of programmed learning and the concern with teacher effectiveness has led the researchers to emphasise the teacher in their systems.

(5) Apart from Philip Jackson the researchers who have relied on unstructured observation have come from outside experimental educational psychology - Lacey (1970) from Social Anthropology, Becker and his associates from the school of G.H. Mead, for instance.
(6) See the quotations from Flanders, Medley and Mitzel and Biddle in Chapter one.

The role of the pupils, either as a group or as individuals, has been relatively neglected.(7)

In addition, many systems are designed to classify aspects of the teachers' behaviour which might be related to pupil achievement. This concern with achievement as an index of teacher effectiveness, coupled with the researchers' professional involvement in teacher training, has resulted in such systems being used extensively as a medium of instruction and evaluation for student teachers. (See Stones and Morris; 1972.) The instruments are used to establish what 'good' teachers or 'effective' teachers do in the classroom; the students are then required to use them to evaluate their own teaching performance, and that of their peers. Then they are expected to try and modify their own behaviour to approximate more and more closely to the norms established by the research. In this way many of the techniques are normative, and functional - they do not work well in the unusual classroom, and can only be agents of improvement not of radical change.(8) These and other implications, explicit and implicit, which are attached to systematic techniques are exemplified here by

(7) Of the 67 observation systems anthologised by Simon and Boyer (1970) for use in the classroom, 14 are for the teacher only, 46 for the teacher and pupils with the emphasis on the former, and only 7 for pupils only.
(8) This is not to say that improving teacher training by these methods is not a 'good thing' - evidence shows that systematic observation is popular with students, and does 'improve' their performances. (Wragg; 1971.)

FIGURE 6:1

Categories for Flanders' Interaction Analysis[1]

TEACHER TALK	INDIRECT INFLUENCE	1.* ACCEPTS FEELING: accepts and clarifies the feeling tone of the students in a nonthreatening manner. Feelings may be positive or negative. Predicting or recalling feelings are included.
		2.* PRAISES OR ENCOURAGES: praises or encourages student action or behavior. Jokes that release tension, not at the expense of another individual, nodding head or saying, "um hm?" or "go on" are included.
		3.* ACCEPTS OR USES IDEAS OF STUDENT: clarifying, building, or developing ideas suggested by a student. As a teacher brings more of his own ideas into play, shift to category five.
		4.* ASKS QUESTIONS: asking a question about content or procedure with the intent that a student answer.
	DIRECT INFLUENCE	5.* LECTURING: giving facts or opinions about content or procedure; expressing his own ideas, asking rhetorical questions.
		6.* GIVING DIRECTIONS: directions, commands, or orders to which a student is expected to comply.
		7.* CRITICIZING OR JUSTIFYING AUTHORITY: statements intended to change student behavior from nonacceptable to acceptable pattern; bawling someone out; stating why the teacher is doing what he is doing; extreme self-reference.
STUDENT TALK		8.* STUDENT TALK-RESPONSE: a student makes a predictable response to teacher. Teacher initiates the contact or solicits student statement and sets limits to what the student says.
		9.* STUDENT TALK-INITIATION: talk by students which they initiate. Unpredictable statements in response to teacher. Shift from 8 to 9 as student introduces own ideas.
		10.* SILENCE OR CONFUSION: pauses, short periods of silence and periods of confusion in which communication cannot be understood by the observer.

* There is NO scale implied by these numbers. Each number is classificatory, it designates a particular kind of communication event. To write these numbers down during observation is to enumerate, not to judge a position on a scale.

(1) Reproduced from Flanders (1965).

the particular schedule which I used in several Scottish girls' schools, namely that devised by Flanders. (1964, 1970.)

Flanders Interaction Analysis

Flanders's system, the Flanders Interaction Category System, commonly abbreviated as FIAC, derives originally from the work of Bales (1950a,b) on small group dynamics. It consists of a small number of general categories for classifying classroom speech between teacher and pupils. It is one of the best known and most widely used techniques, and has the advantages of being both easy to learn and fairly adaptable. For example, Evans and Wragg (1969) used a variation on the technique with ESN children.

On the basis of his early research in the classroom Flanders adapted the set of categories for analysing small-group interaction devised by Bales (1950) and the early classroom system of Withall (1949) to produce his ten categories for coding teacher-pupil interaction. He and his collaborators believe that these ten categories (which are shown in Figure 6:1) are sufficient to 'tap' the really important aspects of classroom behaviour. As the FIAC system is primarily concerned with the teacher, seven of the ten categories describe teacher actions, leaving two for pupil talk, and one residual category.

Flanders's system exemplifies many of the common features of systematic techniques in general. Firstly, the

categories are concerned with speech in the classroom rather than with non-verbal communication of any kind.(9) Secondly, the emphasis of the system is on what Rosenshine calls 'the more easily coded affective variables' (1970, p. 109) rather than on attempting to code the cognitive, socio-linguistic, or other aspects of classroom discourse.(10)

An examination of the category definitions given in Figure 1 reveals certain assumptions which underly the technique, some of which are made explicit by Flanders himself, while others, of equal importance have remained implicit. The explicit assumptions include two points relevant here. The most important is the stress on <u>interaction</u> - which in this context means public talk involving more than one person. Thus FIAC is not intended for use in lessons where one person reads aloud, or gives monologues continuously, nor periods of silent seat-work, experiments conducted by several separate groups, or private tutoring. When such events occur, the observer is expected to stop using the system, until interaction begins again.

(9) An examination of the 67 classroom instruments in Simon and Boyer (1970) shows that only 10 keep a record of the 'physical environment', 17 deal with 'psychomotor' (body movement) factors, and only 31 with 'activities', while 63 systems code classroom speech.

(10) Simon and Boyer show 62 of their 79 category systems as 'affective' and 48 as 'cognitive'. Simon and Boyer do not distinguish any of their systems as socio-linguistic in emphasis, but Biddle (1967) states that this is the most neglected area of classroom studies. The embodiment of a distinction between 'affect' and 'cognition' is itself an assumption which writers outside the field of educational psychology would dispute.

This specification means that in certain school situations there are often long lapses between episodes of interaction. For example, science and technical subjects often involve the pupils in group or individual work while the teacher talks privately to pupils, and little public interaction occurs. Primary classes run on the group method, where the teacher talks to a few children at a time are also short on interaction within the terms of FIAC.

In this way, the FIAC system <u>implicitly</u> reflects the traditional idea of a classroom - the 'chalk and talk' paradigm - and before it could be used meaningfully in other types of teaching situation these assumptions would have to be shed.

The other main set of assumptions made explicit by Flanders relate to the concentration on teacher talk in the categories. Flanders explains that his system <u>is</u> intended as a means of studying teacher styles, that research has shown teachers' talk to be the largest ingredient in classroom interaction, and that ... 'since the teacher has more authority than any pupil' ... his communications are the ... 'most potent single factor in establishing the tone of the discourse'. (Flanders, 1970, p. 35-6.) Elsewhere he formulated these beliefs in his "two-thirds rule", which states that: 'In the average classroom someone is talking two-thirds of the time, two-thirds of this is teacher-talk,

and two-thirds of this teacher-talk is direct influence.'[11] (Flanders, 1964.)

Flanders's first two points - his deliberate choice of focusing on the teacher, and his finding that teacher-talk is numerically dominant in the classroom - are unexceptionable. His third point - claiming that the teacher's authority makes him the dominant influence upon the interaction - is a matter for debate. Flanders' own belief that the teacher's behaviour is the predominant factor is not surprising in view of his own intellectual background and experience. Significantly, Flanders acknowledges as the major influences on his work the researches of Bales (1950a) and Anderson (1945) and their collaborators, (who laid the foundations of what has come to be seen as the "Flanders lineage" of interaction systems — Simon and Boyer; 1970).

Bales and his collaborators worked with small, randomly selected groups of students, who were asked to solve problems by means of group discussion. The group's interactions were recorded, and analysed with Bales' set of categories (Bales, 1950b), and the resulting data used to generate theoretical propositions about the nature of successful and unsuccessful groups. Anderson and his co-workers studied the classroom, but developed a typology of teacher behaviours which closely resembled that arrived

(11) This term 'direct influence' is explained later in this chapter.

at for small group leaders by Bales and others.

Bales found that a 'leader' emerged from his groups, with a distinct contribution pattern, which could be classified as 'democratic' or 'authoritarian'. Anderson's typology distinguished between teachers who were 'dominant' and 'integrative' - a closely parallel division. Flanders's categories are unlike either Bales's or Anderson's in detail; but it does seem that Flanders considers the teacher organising his class to do their school work, rather as if he were a leader of a small-group organising the group members to solve problems. Bales found, conveniently for contemporary post-war America, that the successful groups had democratic leaders who accepted the ideas and feelings of the other members; and in essence Flanders holds that pupils will learn more if their teachers behave in a similar fashion to Bales's 'democratic' group leaders. This, of course, explains the emphasis, implicit in FIAC, on the 'emotional climate' of the classroom - on the acceptance or rejection of pupils' ideas and feelings.

In summary then, we can see by a study of the assumptions relating to one technique, FIAC, many of the points made about systematic observation in general earlier in this chapter and in the Introduction. Flanders is concerned about being scientific; at one point he advises the observer to act 'like an automatic device..' (1970, p. 36). He uses his categories to train student teachers, and his system is closely based on a traditional model of the

school and the classroom, where the teacher is the predominant influence. Finally, FIAC exemplifies the majority trend in systematic observation by its emphasis on the emotional climate, 'tapped' from speech; and his concentration on the teacher rather than the pupils. These characteristics will become clearer during the following discussion of data handling.

The Use of FIAC

First, how FIAC is used. The observer sits in the classroom with a stopwatch, and writes down his classification of the interaction every three seconds. Each judgement is recorded in a column, under its predecessor, thus preserving the sequence of events.(12) Using FIAC can be tiring for the observer, because a high degree of concentration is needed, in order to record the twenty judgements necessary every minute. A full forty-minute period can involve making and recording eight hundred judgements.(13) Of course, most lessons consist of several different kinds of interaction, or episodes, such as returning homework, reading aloud a passage, discussion of new work, explanation of a difficulty and so

(12) The retention of information about sequence is one of FIAC's major strengths, and makes the data particularly rich. The statistical problems of handling sequential data are, however, formidable. (Flanders, 1965.)
(13) In fact practice makes the job easier, as a rhythm becomes established.

on. The observer notes changes of episode, and usually manages to make explanatory notes as well.

To demonstrate briefly how the ten categories shown in Figure 1 are used, two pieces of interaction, of very different kinds are given here, having been classified using the system. The first is an extract from Hargreave's study of a secondary modern school, in which a master is ridiculing an unpopular, low status boy, Alan.

'Master: What's that huge book on your desk, Alan? Is it a dictionary?

Alan: No, sir, it's a music book.

M: What are you doing with that? Where did you get it from? Out of the library?

A: Yes.

M: Well you just take it straight back there. I don't want it coming back covered with chip grease and what have you. You can't take reference books out of the library. You must come and look at it at lunch-time. And from what I've heard you ought to be spending your time on Science, not Music. In any case, how were you going to get it home if it rained? You haven't got one of those plastic cases like the rest of the class. Where are you going to wrap it up? In a kilt or something?'

(Hargreaves, 1967, p. 18)

This is clearly an unpleasant incident, a situation of discipline and social control, rather than a teaching situation as such. Coding the incident produces the sequence:

4, 4, 8, 4, 6, 8, 7, 7, 7, 7, 4, 7, 7 - lasting about 39 seconds.

This incident therefore only uses Categroies 4, 6, 7 for the teacher and 8 for the pupil. The next extract from Barnes (1969, p. 43) is from a teaching situation and demonstrates the other categories. This time the FIAC judgements are listed beside the interaction:

'Teacher:	Sand dunes. They're usually in an	5
	unusual... a specific shape... a	4
	special shape... Does anybody know what shape they are? Not in straight lines.	
Pupil:	They're like hills.	8
T:	Yes, they're like low hills.	3
P:	They're all humpy up and down.	9
T:	Yes, they're all humpy up and down.	3
P:	They're like waves	9
T:	Good, they're like waves	2
P:	They're like... (This would not take 3 seconds - but either 8 or 9)	
T:	They're a special shape	5
P:	They're like boulders...sort of go up and down getting higher and higher.	9
T:	I don't know about getting higher and higher...	3
P:	Something like pyramids.	9
T:	Mmmm...wouldn't call them pyramids, no.	5
P:	They're in a semi-circle	9
T:	Ahh, that's getting a bit nearer. They	2
	are often in a semi-circle...and nearly	3
	always...we call them...well it's part of	5
	a semi-circle... What do we call part	4
	of a semi-circle? You think of the	1
	moon...perhaps you'll get the shape.	
P:	Water.	8

T:	No, not shaped like water ...Yes?	5
P:	An arc.	8
T:	An arc...oh we're getting ever so much nearer.	2 or 3
P:	Crescent.	9
T:	A crescent shape...Have you heard that expression...a crescent shape?...I wonder if anybody could draw me a crescent shape on the Board?	3 4 4
		10
	Yes, they're nearly all that shape.'	3

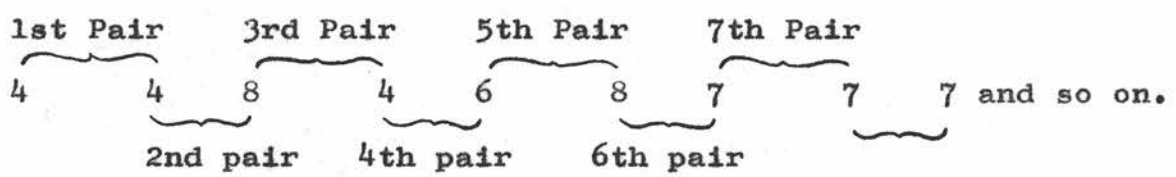
These two extracts have shown all ten categories used at least once, covering as they do both a teaching dialogue and a disciplinary incident. Some long passages of interaction with their codings are given in Flanders (1970). Two of them are particularly interesting in that they show exactly the same topic being covered by two different teachers in two different ways, (p. 56-63). Once classroom interaction has been classified in this way, the data obtained can be further analysed. Flanders has devoted much of his recent book to data handling and a long discussion would be superfluous. The next short section therefore shows only the basic principles underlying the manipulation of FIAC data.

The Analysis and Display of FIAC Data

The simplest way of displaying FIAC data is to draw histograms, showing the total number of tallies made in each category during a specified episode or lesson(s).

An histogram comparing the two extracts given above would show that the Hargreaves's extract had produced six codings in Category 7, while the Barnes' extract produced none, for example.

However, the amount of information which is preserved by coding interaction sequentially is much greater than can be shown in this simple way. To make the most of the sequential nature of the recorded data, sequence pairs instead of single tallies are used. Each individual coding is used twice, once with the coding which immediately precedes it, and once with its successor. Thus the Hargreaves extract produces the following sequence pairs:



These sequence pairs are then tabulated, usually onto a ten by ten matrix, the first number in each pair giving the row, the second the column. Every individual code is therefore represented twice on the matrix, keeping information about the sequence. For example, the first coding of the Hargreaves extract, is category 4, which gives us the fourth row, and the second is the second 4, which gives us the fourth column. So, we put a tally in the 4-4 square. The next hash mark goes in the fourth row of the eight column, the third in the eighth row of the

fourth column, and so on.[14] Figures 6:2 and 6:3 show the two extracts in matrix form.

Hypotheses and conclusions about 'normal' and 'abnormal' sequence patterns can be based on the matrix. It is possible to discover which cycles of teacher talk are common; which produce pupil-initiation and so on. Some cells of the matrix are frequently full; others always empty. A student teacher can study the matrix of a lesson and discover which of her speech acts produced pupil-initiated contributions, and compare them with other acts which did not. Flanders claims that an experienced observer can reconstruct much of the course of an episode or lesson from a matrix, without explanatory notes or prior knowledge.

The basic matrix can be used as the source for calculating a variety of ratios: for comparing aspects of an individual's behaviour within a lesson or over time; for comparing different teachers, or different types of lessons, or as the basis for detailed study of interaction in general. Some of these are used with my data in the following chapter.

(14) As a convention the matrices are kept symmetrical by adding a 10, (silence and confusion), at the beginning and end of each episode or lesson as it is tabulated. The Hargreaves extract would therefore start with a tally in the 10 - 4 square, and end with one in the 7-10 square.

FIGURE 6:2

Matrix of Hargreaves Extract

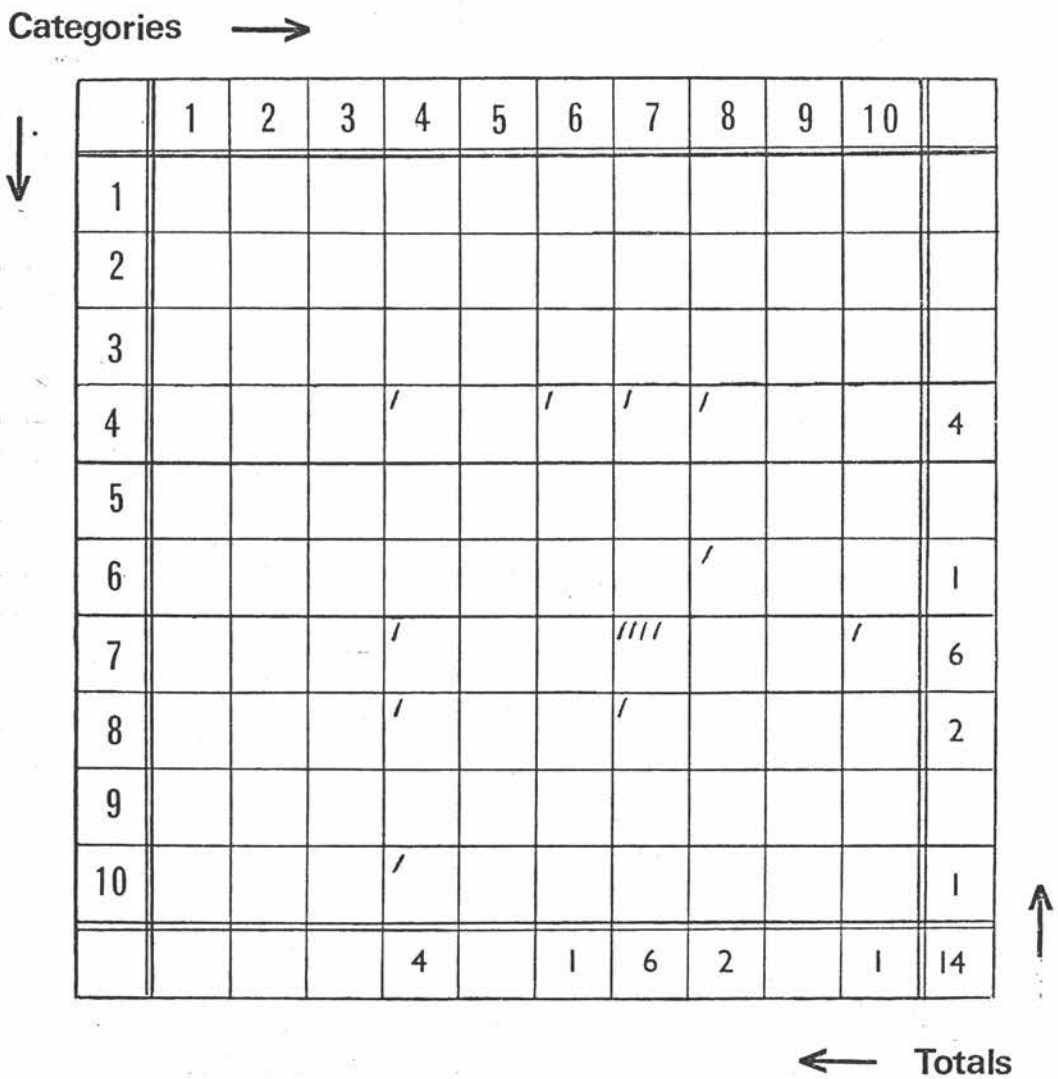


FIGURE 6:3

Matrix of Barnes Extract

Categories →

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1								/			1
2			//						/		3
3				/	//				///	/	7
4	/			/				/		/	4
5				//				/	//		5
6											
7											
8		/	/		/						3
9		//	///		/						6
10			/		/						2
	1	3	7	4	5			3	6	2	31

↑

← Totals

Coding Pupil Talk

Flanders's system is generally considered to be the best known and most widely used technique and, certainly, together with its derivative systems (Amidon's VICS and Wragg's foreign language system for example) this must be so. As FIAC is so well known, it has been widely discussed and criticised - it is the stalking horse for those who dislike observation systems (e.g. Walker; 1972), and the usual example quoted by those skimming the surface of the field (e.g. Hargreaves; 1972).

The main focus of my research was not teacher style, but pupil style, and so FIAC, whatever it faults and virtues in its main direction, was not appropriate for the main part of the project. Flanders himself makes clear that 'the FIAC system was not designed to answer detailed questions about pupil talk' (1970, p. 50). Accordingly a system for coding pupil talk was necessary, and I developed one. About two-thirds of the field work period at St Luke's was spent in systematic classroom observation using a category system for pupil talk, which had been designed to highlight individual differences in speech patterns in the classroom.(15)

(15) My reasons for this have been spelt out in Chapters 1 and 2. Briefly, I decided that classroom speech was a rich, and relatively virgin area in which to study individual differences in work-styles and study habits. At school level, where the pupil has relatively less freedom to organise his own work than the students studied by Becker et al (1968) and Parlett (1967), there is more room for idiosyncrasy in the spoken word than anywhere else. The category system was devised during fieldwork at The Laurels, after some unstructured observation in three other girls' schools in the city.

The primary focus of my own system was pupil independence and dependence, and the need for research on this aspect of pupil differences has been recognised by Flanders himself:

> 'Pupil independence and self-direction are even greater unknowns than either pupil achievement or pupil attitudes ... A variation of interaction analysis coding might involve systematic observer ratings of overt pupil behaviour based on time sampling procedures...'
> (Flanders; 1970, p. 379)

However, a study of pupil contributions in the classroom presents severe methodological problems. The first is the sheer amount of classroom time which is <u>not</u> spent in any form of pupil talk. We will see from the FIAC data in the following chapter that in an average lesson the teacher talks for 70% of all the time during which any speech occurs.(16) This leaves 30% of the interaction time for the pupils, of which they utilise about 20%. In a forty minute lesson, if it consists entirely of interaction, there will therefore be 8 minutes of pupil talk. If an academic subject is allocated five periods a week, there are 40 minutes in the 200 for the pupils. If the classes are made up of only 20 girls, as at St Luke's, there are two minutes per child per week in that subject.

(16) All the other observation projects report similar findings. It is almost as though the culturally accepted definition of teaching <u>implies</u> talking for two-thirds of the time.

Obviously pupils do talk in other ways than through their public, solo, contributions; they talk to each other, to the teacher privately, and may read aloud or answer in unison. However, when one considers how little time is taken up by individual pupils talking publicly it is not surprising that very little literature exists on this aspect of classroom interaction.

Any systematic technique which related only to pupil contributions could therefore be expected to occupy the observer for merely 20% of his time. This would make focusing only on the pupils appear a particularly wasteful form of observation: a version of conspicuous consumption of precious observer-time. Exclusive concentration on the teacher's speech is also wasteful, and it is this sense of waste which explains the concentration of the majority of systems on both teacher and pupils.(17)

The treatment of pupil contributions to classroom interaction is as rudimentary in the majority of systems as it is in FIAC. An examination of the seven systems anthologised by Simon and Boyer (1970) which focused on pupil behaviours showed them to be irrelevant for my purposes, yet revealing about the problems associated with studying pupil activities in the classroom.

Firstly the seven are very specialised systems -

(17) As already mentioned, of the 67 classroom systems, 46 are for coding teacher and pupil behaviours, while 14 code only the teacher, and 7 only pupils. The 46 systems all resemble FIAC, in that pupil behaviours are seen as 'fillers' between teacher behaviours, and not as phenomena of equal status.

much more specialised in focus than the 46 'pupil and teacher' ones. This suggests that researchers have only developed pupil focused instruments in response to very particular problems. Two of the seven are designed for pupils using individualised learning packages (Lindvall and Honigman-Stevens); two are only intended for laboratories where the pupils are working to a 'guided discovery' syllabus (Matthews and Parakh); two more for open-plan primary classes (Perkins and Kowatrakul); one codes only non-verbal communication[18] (Spaulding) and was designed for use with small children.

A second point to note is that five of the seven focus on individual children, using 'point-time sampling', that is, the observer watches each child for a set period of time before moving on to watch the next.[19] This aspect of these instruments links up with the point made above, in that these five systems are all intended for classes where pupils work individually for much of the time, and not for the more traditional 'chalk and talk' classroom common at St Luke's. Finally all these systems, except Parakh's, are really concerned with what the pupil is doing, rather than with his speech.

(18) All these instruments are described in some detail, with their full references, in Simon and Boyer (1970). Simon and Boyer do not include PROSE (Medley et al, 1968) in their catalogue, but the same points made about the systems they do include apply equally to PROSE.
(19) PROSE is also based on point-time sampling.

In summary, there are few systems designed for studying the pupil alone; and those that exist are intended for unusual or specialised types of classroom or curriculum. It is as if researchers were uninterested in the pupils' role in the ordinary classroom, except inasmuch as their behaviour as a group reflects on the teacher and his skill. Concentrating on pupil behaviour in the classroom, to see how they behave in their own right is unusual. Yet it has not been established that the teacher's style is the dominant influence upon the classroom climate which Flanders and others have assumed it to be.

In a recent paper Klein (1971) has described an experiment in which the opposite was true. Klein was able to organise the students in a teachers' college in America so that large numbers of them became her collaborators. The college was due to be addressed by a series of visiting lecturers, all strangers to the college and its students. Klein arranged that the students should 'practise' three types of audience behaviour - attentive, normal, and disruptive, and these behaviours should be employed by all the students in the lecture at the same time for a specified period. Thus one lecturer found himself facing a normal audience for the first fifteen minutes, then an exceptionally attentive one for the next fifteen, then a very disruptive one, and finally another period of normality. The experiment was large enough for all possible sequences to be used in different lectures. Not surprisingly, the behaviour

of the audience was found to be closely related to the lecturer's style (measured with a variation of FIAC). When the audience were attentive, the lecturers offered more praise and acceptance; when it was bad, they became more critical. These results lead Klein to conclude that 'positive' student behaviour may be producing the 'positive' teaching behaviour which Flanders and his associates have shown to be associated with student achievement and 'promoting student growth', rather than vice versa. This is obviously a chicken and egg problem, and is probably not susceptible to an 'either-or' solution. The argument of this thesis - to be spelt out in some detail in Chapter 10 with the model of classroom interaction as an illustration - is that the degree of influence exerted by the two sides varies considerably according to the individuals concerned. Some teachers are likely to adapt to the age-groups and ability-levels they teach more easily than others, and some will do this consciously and others not.(20) Similarly, some pupils are probably more susceptible to the teacher's style than others; some will behave in much the same way with all teachers, some will vary their classroom behaviour to suit different staff. The following chapter contains

(20) Perhaps the most interesting lacuna in the literature of systematic observation is that none of the researchers discuss whether their codings are tapping the unconscious 'personality' or 'drives' of the teachers, or merely chronicling their consciously controlled teaching performances. The use of systematic techniques as tools for teacher training suggests that the latter is assumed but the issue is nowhere explored.

a little work dealing with this interrelationship, Chapter 9 deals with it in some depth.

My data were collected by following the same girls throughout all their lessons, rather than by watching the same teachers in front of different classes. Thus I did not gather any data on the changes in teaching style with different classes, but the material on the pupils' changing contribution patterns illuminates the second half of the contention: namely, the adaption of pupils to different teaching 'regimes'.

Devising a System

At the time when my research plans were being formulated there was no published systematic instrument which focused on the verbal behaviour of pupils in the way I wanted. I needed a coding system which would tap, like FIAC, the socio-emotional aspects of pupil talk, but also, as the existing evidence suggested that many of their contributions would be on the factual and cognitive aspects of the lesson, their speech in that area too. In addition, I wanted to record information about each girl as an individual, that is with the codings attached to a name, with the data on the behaviour of the pupils as a group also available. I did not want to use observation of

individual girls simply as a form of sampling the whole, as do many of the existing systems.(21)

My main interests in pupil speech were to do with manifestations of independence and dependence in public contributions. I therefore tried to devise a set of categories for coding them which would cover the majority of contributions made and provide enough different categories to reveal individual differences, without becoming so large as to be unweildy. Really thorough investigation of different kinds of contribution, such as Bellack's (1966) or Smith and Meux's, (1962) needs transcripts of tape recordings, but I would argue that it is possible to produce a valid record of pupil contributions by personal coding.

Figure 6:4 shows the categories of pupil contribution, plus, at the bottom, the categories for other events which I tallied. Both sets were used with extensive field notes. The strategy which underlies the pupil talk categories was based on making 4 sequential binary distinctions before coding each contribution. These 4 decisions were as follows:

(21) Since then a systematic technique has been published which does contain many of the elements which I had devised for my own system in 1969. Parakh's categories were intended for use in Biology classes only, but he had independently derived many of the same ways of classifying pupil contributions. The system uses a seating plan, numbered by the observer, as a means of identifying the individual pupils. I was able to use the girls' names, and record each contribution with its makers' initials.

1: Is the pupil's contribution volunteered, or was that individual asked, or told, to speak?

2: Is the pupil's contribution directly related to the academic content of the lesson?

3: (If the answer to Point 2 is yes) Is the answer acceptable to the teacher or not?

4: (If the answer to Point 2 is no) Is it classifiable as evidence of independent or dependent behaviour on the part of the pupil?

These four questions reveal the underlying structure of the categories in one way - another mode of presentation is shown in Figure 6:5 which reveals their structure diagrammatically. Basically the system was designed to separate contributions which were part of the factual, academic discourse from others; and then to examine which of the remainder were examples of independent or dependent behaviour on the part of the girls. As well as embodying a distinction between contributions to do with content, and those tangential to it; the system records information about the acceptability or otherwise of the content-oriented contributions to the teacher. The categories are mutually exclusive, and designed to 'fit' normal pupil discourse - one utterance would normally be given one coding. (It is very rare to find a pupil making an uninterrupted utterance of more than a few seconds.)

These categories enabled me to tally both exceptional events, such as a pupil disagreeing with the teacher, and to record the 'normal' ebb and flow of classroom discourse (i.e. teacher asks a question - pupil answers - teacher asks another question - etc.). The categories were not intended to be my only record of what occurred - I tried to write

FIGURE 6:4

PUPIL TALK CATEGORIES

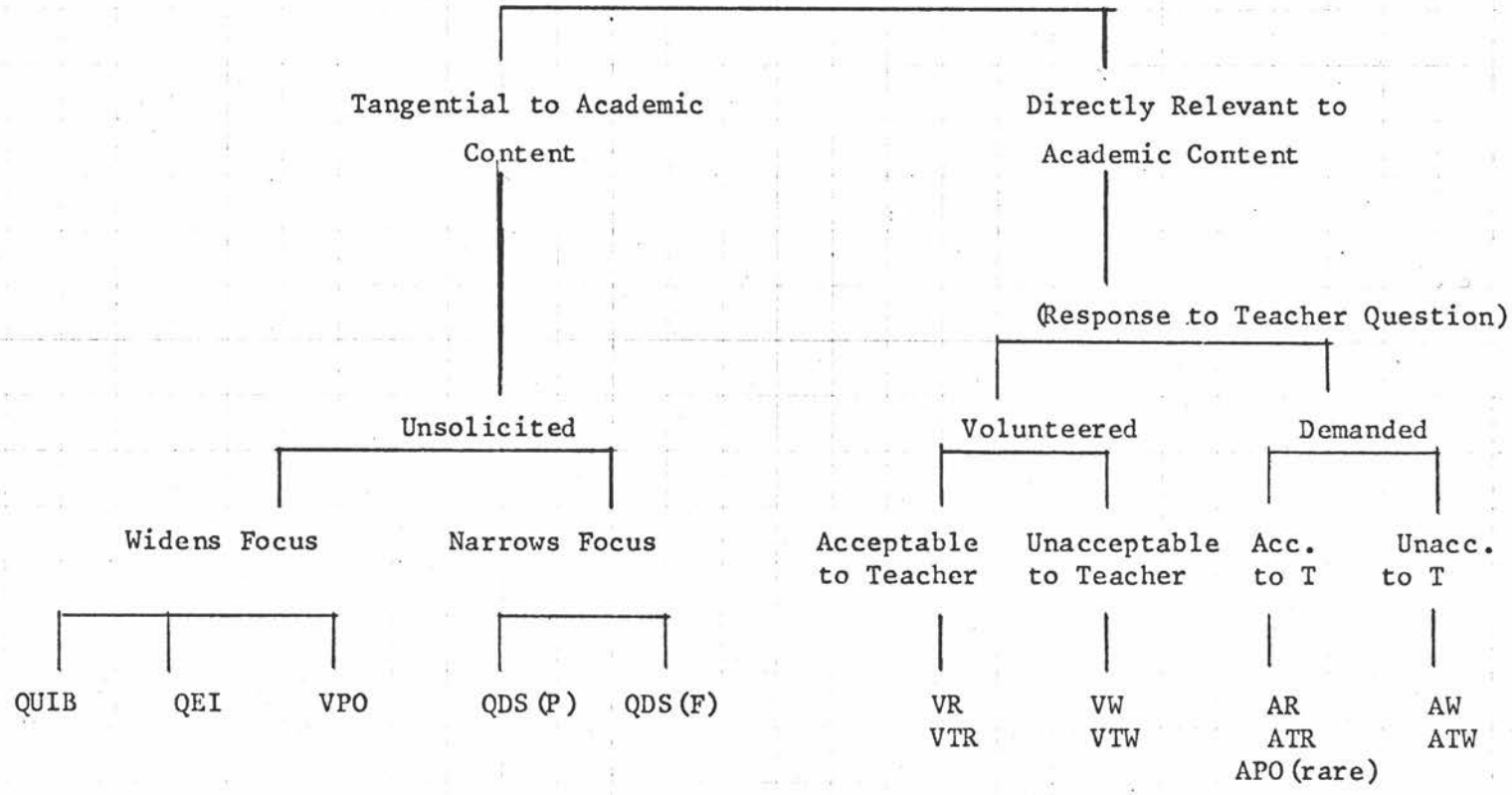
CODE	EXPLANATION
VR	A correct, or at least, acceptable response, produced by a volunteer.
VW	An incorrect, or unacceptable response, produced by a volunteer.
VT(R or W)	A volunteered translation. (Acceptable or not.)
AR	A correct answer, produced on demand.
AW	An incorrect answer, produced on demand.
AT(R or W)	A translation, produced on demand. (Acceptable or not.)
APO	A personal experience or opinion produced on demand.
QDSP	A dependent/help-seeking question, concerning procedure.
QDSF	A dependent/help-seeking question, concerning facts.
RNA	A question revealing that a pupil has not been paying attention.
QEI	A question asking for extra information.
QUIB	A quibble with the teachers' explanations, etc.
VPO	A volunteered personal experience or opinion.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS USED IN CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

HU(NA)	A pupil raises her hand (but is not asked by the teacher.)
REP	A reprimand.
ST	A pupil doing seat-work indicates that she is in difficulties.
HELP	A teacher gives a pupil doing seat-work some individual help.
T	Pupil talk, taking place, illicitly during lessons.

FIGURE 6:5

Logical Structure Underlying Pupil Talk Categories



down verbatim what the pupils actually said, and to keep notes on what teachers said. Also, the system is designed to be normative - that is the definitions of such categories as 'Quibbling' refer to the situation in St Luke's as accepted by staff and pupils. However, the best way for the reader to appreciate the usefulness of the system is to see it in use.

The Use of the Pupil Talk System

Flanders' system, though basically simple, can be analysed in a variety of ways. Obviously my system, being newly developed, has not generated such methodological remifications.

To demonstrate the use of each category I have again taken short extracts of teacher-pupil interaction and coded them. This time the extracts come from my own field notes from St Luke's rather than from published material. The first extract shows six of the factual content-oriented categories in a Latin lesson given by Miss Iliad, the second the other categories in a Geography lesson given by Mrs Hill.

EXTRACT 1 - Miss Iliad 5/M/3[22]

Miss Iliad: (Tells Katherine to translate the first sentence.)

(22) This coding was explained in Chapter 5. Briefly it gives the lesson, day and week of field-work. The bracketed parts of the extract are expanded summaries of field-notes, the rest verbatim recording.

Katherine:	...ummmm...The noble consul...swore.. err...swore to	AT
Miss I:	Take the verb next.	
Katherine:	(Still does not speak)	
Miss I:	(Tells her it's part of progredior - Jill's hand goes up.)	HU
Jill:	To advance or progress or go forward.	VR
Miss I:	(Accepts that. Tells Evelyn to give the principal parts.)	
Evelyn:	Progredior, progredi, progressus sum. Deponent verb.	AR
Miss I:	(Accepts that. Tells Selina to 'finish the sentence'.)	
Selina:	The noble consul swore to advance towards the city and to...relieve... relieve their allies.	ATR
Miss I:	(Accepts this. Tells Charmian to read the next sentence and translate it.)	
Charmian:	(Reads it halteringly. Gets bogged down over translation.)	
Miss I:	(Tells her to take the verb first. Asks what case 'civibus' is.)	
Charmian:	Ablative	AW
Miss I:	Rubbish! (Tells her she's 'too careless'. Selina puts her hand up.)	HU
Selina:	It's dative because of the verb - it's dependent on the verb.	VR
	(A few sentences are omitted here. The sentence gets translated, but not into idiomatic English - Penny puts her hand up.)	HU
Penny	At Dawn.	VTR

In my field notes this extract would produce the following codings:(23)

(K)AT, (J)HU VR, (E)AR, (S)AT, (C)AW, (S)HU VR, (P)HU VT

If a girl volunteered without raising her hand, the absence of HU before the coding of the contribution would tell me so. This extract has demonstrated the use of all the content-oriented contribution codings except volunteering a wrong answer and being told to give a personal opinion - both very rare occurrences. The next episode shows the other categories in use. It is drawn from a rather unusual geography lesson, in which the girls were looking through all their notes on Scotland and asking questions, preparatory to a test.

EXTRACT 2 - Mrs Hill 4/W/3

(This lesson opened with Mrs Hill coming in, and immediately being 'buttonholed' by Jill, who sat near the front, who wanted to ask, at some length, why herrings couldn't be bred on fish farms and released into the North Sea.)		VPO QEI
Henrietta:	(Bursting into the conversation.) It would cost a fortune!	VPO
Charmian:	(Also chipping in.) They'd have to breed simply millions - it'd be jolly difficult.	VPO
Mrs H:	(Gently dismisses Jill's idea as impractical. Then announces publicly that there is to be a test on all Scotland	

(23) The letters in brackets would be the girls' full initials: i.e. Katherine McFarlane would be KMcF.

next lesson, and they can have the rest of this one to revise for it.)

A chorus of protest, groans and objections breaks out - then dies away to be replaced by questions on the nature of the test.

Jackie:	What type of questions will they be? Short answer or essay?	QDSP
Mrs H:	Short answer questions mostly.	
Jill:	Why do we have to have tests all the time?	QUIB
Lorraine:	Will we be asked to draw anything?	QDSP
Karen:	Will it be on the board or are you going to read them out?	QDSP
Mrs H:	(Says she'll read them out, and tells them they may have to draw. Then tells them to quieten down or she'll go on to the next topic (Newcastle).	REP

A few minutes silence ensues - girls read their notes and occasionally consult their neighbours.

Alexandra:	Are the coalfields in Fife contracting?	QDSF*
Mrs H:	Well the NCB have closed a number of pits.	
Alex:	Why?	QEI
Mrs H:	(Gives more detailed account of the mining industry in Scotland.)	
Jill:	Is the Lanark coalfield the same as the Central coalfield?	QDSF
Mrs H:	(Answers this.)	
Michelle:	Why aren't we going to study the Islands?	QUIB
Mrs H:	(Justifies her choice of syllabus. Tells Evelyn to stop reading the back of a map and get on.)	REP
Mary:	Did you say Dundee was a declining area?	QDSF
Mrs. H:	(Deals with this by asking Fleur, who lives there, what she thinks.)	

* This point had been dealt with in class - otherwise it would be coded QEI.

Fleur:	(Says she thought only the jute industry was declining, not the whole area, and she thought it was Clydeside that was in trouble.)	APO
Mrs H:	(Gives longish exposition of the state of Scotland's economy, region by region.)	
Evelyn:	Did you tell us Clydeside was a depressed area?	QDSF
Mrs H:	(Tells her off for not listening.)	REP

This second extract shows most of the other categories as they were used, but neither extract shows the categories occurring in their normal distribution patterns. The next chapter deals with the results gained with the systematic technique and established what 'normal' patterns are. In the final sections of this chapter the actual use made of the two methods at St Luke's is discussed.(24)

(24) The reliability and validity of this system have not, so far, been mentioned. Inter-observer reliability is an unknown quality at present, as only one person has used the categories, but I have no doubt that, like the inventors of other systems, I could train reliable observers for it. Validity is a more worrying problem. Flanders has discussed the question of validity in coding observation as follows: 'No classroom interaction can ever be completely recreated or repeated..contrary to many an argument, the issue of validity in coding does not rest on the impossibility of re-creating what took place, instead it depends on whether <u>what was</u> encoded did in fact exist and whether those elements of the original situation are recreated in their proper perspective during both decoding and encoding'. Flanders, 1970, p. 87 (emphasis mine). The reader must judge by the results whether my system meets these criteria.

SECTION 2 - SYSTEMATIC TECHNIQUES AT ST LUKE'S

During this research the FIAC system was used at two schools. At The Laurels FIAC was the main method of classroom observation. AT the second school, St Luke's, FIAC was used as part of the wider study described throughout this thesis. Over thirty teachers at the two schools were observed over some lessons with FIAC, and the subjects they taught covered most of the school curriculum.(25)

The research undertaken at St Luke's is the central focus of this study, so the material on teacher styles, classified with FIAC, is based on the academic staff of that school. Fourteen teachers were observed teaching my sample of girls on sufficient occasions to provide reliable figures according to Flanders's own advice on this point. (1970, p. 100.) The fourteen included two teachers of English, Maths, History, Geography, and Chemistry, and one teacher of French, Physics, Biology and Latin.(26)

(25) Maths, English, Sciences, History, Geography, French and Classics were studied intensively. Other modern languages which I do not myself speak were not studied in detail - I visited those lessons occasionally and made notes on what I could understand. I have also used FIAC in non-academic lessons, such as Art and Dress and Design, just as an experiment to find how much classifiable interaction existed in them. FIAC was suitable for all teachers I observed except one Historian at The Laurels (who spent all her lessons reading aloud without <u>any</u> dialogues) and with the proviso that most of the science lessons contained episodes of practical work which were not classifiable with FIAC.
(26) The teachers observed are shown in Table 3:1. Only one person taught Physics and Biology to my sample so there was only one teacher in each subject to see. There were two French staff, but one refused me permission to watch her. The second Latin mistress was observed, but not for long enough to provide a really sound sample of her behaviour.

To create a sample of teachers including two representatives of each subject four staff from The Laurels are included in the following results and analysis. The teachers from St Luke's are referred to by the pseudonyms given in Chapter 3, shown again in Figure 5, and/or by the name of their subject with the set taught indicated by 'A' or 'B' appended. The four staff from The Laurels can be distinguished by having a 'C' (for control) appended.

The main analysis of teaching style using FIAC is therefore based on 18 teachers from throughout the school curriculum. Each teacher was observed in enough interaction episodes to provide a matrix of 400 or more tallies. From these matrices various aspects of teaching behaviour were abstracted, and the eighteen teachers compared, using those indices which have been drawn from Flanders (1970) as being most sensitive for the purpose of this investigation.

Research With the Pupil Talk System

Just as the fieldwork at The Laurels was used to 'practise' coding interaction with FIAC, it was also the period in which the pupil talk codings, which had been partly planned during observation in 1969 at other schools, were developed and finalised. As the categories were being modified while being used at The Laurels, no data on individuals or particular subject areas are given here except from St Luke's. The overall pattern and range of contributions, and their relation to the FIAC 'style' of

the teachers, were similar. At St Luke's the first two to three weeks of my field work concentrated on using FIAC, because it did not require any knowledge of the participants' names. Once I had collected a large enough sample of interaction to meet the standards layed down by Flanders for each teacher, the emphasis was switched to the pupil talk system. By that stage in the fieldwork, all the girls were known by name, and each girl's contributions could be properly attributed.

The pupil talk system was used in 102 academic lessons, though because of the complicated setting system, and the high absence rate of some girls, the average number of lessons in which any individual girl was seen was 41 lessons. The highest number of lessons for which I have a record on one individual is 67, and the lowest 21, so all the data given in the following chapter are discussed in terms of the mean number of contributions per lesson, or per ten lessons, rather than as raw figures.(27)

Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of systematic observation, illustrating the arguments with the two techniques

(27) The logistics of trying to observe all the pupils evenly, and at the same time not visit the staff unequally, were considerable. Sometimes several lessons were going on at the same time - such as Physics, one of the two Biology sets, and two Latin sets or one German set and one Spanish set. Deciding the best use of 'observer time' in such conditions is difficult, and some unevenness was inevitable.

used in my research. The details of data collection and analysis were discussed, in general and with reference to St Luke's. The following chapter presents the findings 'straight', revealing their interrelations. This material then serves as a background to the two succeeding chapters, where the systematic data are related to other types. Chapter 8 uses the FIAC material as the entry-point to a detailed analysis of the classroom roles of two teachers; Chapter 9 uses the sylb/sylf inventory and the pupil talk data as entries to profiles of four girls. Teaching style, pupil study-habits and pupil speech acts are thus shown to be inextricably interrelated.

CHAPTER 7

SYSTEMATIC OBSERVATION - THE RESULTS

Data Collected with the Two Systems, Relevant to Teacher and Pupil Behaviours in the Classroom

'An example of a zoological observation system is that of Hediger. This delightful work on animal behavior focuses on the psychomotor dimension and includes categories such as "bristling of mane", "clapping of beak" ... and "displaying of rump patch". As anyone who has faced an angry parent, boss or spouse can attest these behaviors are related to "warning signals" we humans use.'

(Mirrors, p. 3)

Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected with the two systematic techniques at St Luke's. Three themes underly the presentation of the systematic data: they are presented to reveal the nature of the 'rules' of classroom discourse at St Luke's; to place teachers and pupils in relation to their colleagues according to their classroom speech; and to provide a pool of material on individual classroom style as a background for individual profiles.

Notes on the Presentation of Data

The presentation of systematic observation data presents considerable problems. The reconciliation of a multitude of numerical data on groups or individuals with clear argument has always been a major difficulty for social scientists. In a recent paper Liam Hudson guides the reader through a complex set of results on intellectual style and inter-personal communication with a set of interpretative principles, which emphasise and structure the main points of his argument. (Hudson et al., 1972.) This focusing device also provides an excellent means of organising the presentation of the findings from systematic observation.(1) The important features which underly my use of systematic techniques at St Luke's are outlined below, to guide the reader through the data which follow.

Interpretative Principles

1) Both systematic techniques provide material which is primarily about groups - they place teachers and pupils vis-a-vis their colleagues and classmates.

2) Both techniques provide a pool of data which serve as the basis for analyses of individual teachers and pupils.(2)

(1) I am grateful to Mike Stubbs for suggesting this device to me.
(2) See Chapters 8 and 9 and Appendix 5.

3) The two techniques are mutually illuminating but the findings are not tautologous.

4) Both techniques provide information about the norms of speech behaviour in the classroom at St Luke's.

5) FIAC data on the St Luke's staff are material on a rarely studied, elite group of teachers.

6) Analysis of the pupil talk data allows one to study the conformity and non-conformity of the girls to the 'norm' of classroom discourse.

Bearing these general principles in mind, the results of the systematic observation can be more easily assimilated. The first set of results to be presented concern the amount of lesson time which is spent in teacher talk as measured with FIAC. This material shows what the average pattern of discourse at St Luke's is, and the range of behaviour across the various individual teachers, and between different subjects and groups of subjects.

The Amount of Teacher Talk

The simplest, and most vivid, way of using FIAC data comparatively is to calculate from the matrices(3) the relative proportions of interaction spent in teacher talk (TT), in pupil talk (PT) and in silence or confusion (SC). Table 7:1 shows 18 teachers ranked in descending order of percentage teacher talk, and Table 7:2 the same

(3) Described in the previous chapter.

TABLE 7:1

Rank Orders of FIAC Totals

Rank Order	Subject	Name	Total TT[1] %	Total PT[2] %	Total SC[3] %
1	History A	Flodden	82.8	11.4	5.7
2	Geog. B	Dale	81.7	15.2	3.0
3	History B	Bruce	80.3	17.6	2.0
4	Biology	Linnaeus	79.6	17.3	2.9
5	English B	Keats	78.1	16.7	5.0
6	Physics A	Cavendish	76.7	16.5	6.6
7	Chemist.A	Boyle	73.2	18.8	7.8
8	Latin C	(Laurels)	72.8	20.5	6.5
9	Physics C	(Laurels)	72.8	13.5	13.1
10	Chem. B	Dalton	71.6	15.7	12.6
11	Flanders Ave. Teacher		68	20	12
12	Geog. A	Hill	66.5	23.2	10.2
13	Maths. A	Napier	64.8	21.2	13.8
14	Latin A	Iliad	62.6	27.2	10.0
15	Maths. B	Newton	62.3	9.0	28.6
16	French C	(Laurels)	62.0	35.1	2.8
17	English A	Milton	61.2	26.9	11.8
18	Biol. C	(Laurels)	60.7	27.5	11.6
19	French B	French	57.7	29.7	12.4
	Mean scores		70.3	20.1	9.2

Notes on Table 7:1

1. TT = Teacher Talk
2. PT = Pupil Talk
3. SC = Silence or Confusion

TABLE 7:2

FIAC Totals by Subject

Name	Subject	Total TT %	Total PT %	Total SC %
Napier	Maths. A	64.8	21.2	13.8
Newton	Maths. B	62.3	9.0	28.6
Milton	English A	61.2	26.9	11.8
Keats	English B	78.1	16.7	5.0
Flodden	History A	82.8	11.4	5.7
Bruce	History B	80.3	17.6	2.0
Hill	Geography A	66.5	23.2	10.2
Dale	Geography B	81.7	15.2	3.0
Cavendish	Physics A	76.7	16.5	6.6
	Physics C	72.8	13.9	13.1
Linnaeus	Biology A	79.6	17.3	2.9
	Biology C	60.7	27.5	11.6
Boyle	Chemistry A	73.2	18.8	7.8
Dalton	Chemistry B	71.6	15.7	12.6
French	French B	57.7	29.7	12.4
	French C	62.0	35.1	2.8
Iliad	Latin A	62.6	27.2	10.0
	Latin C	72.8	20.5	6.5
Flanders Ave. Teacher		68	20	12
Mean of 18 Scots teachers		70.3	20.1	9.2

teachers listed in subject pairs. Flanders (1970) gives figures for the 'average teacher', and these are included on both tables for comparison.

Tables 1 and 2 show that the amount of Teacher Talk varies from 57.7 per cent (French B) to 82.8 per cent (History A). The mean amount of teacher talk is 70.3 per cent in this sample, compared with Flanders's average figure of 68 per cent. The percentages of pupil talk vary from 9.0 per cent (Maths B) to 35.1 per cent (French C); the mean amount being 20.1 per cent, compared with Flanders' figure of 20 per cent. The percentages of time 'lost' in silence or confusion during interaction ranged from 2.0 per cent (History B) to 28.6 per cent (Maths B); the mean amount being 9.2 per cent compared with Flanders figure of '11 or 12 per cent'.

An examination of Table 1 shows that the eighteen teachers are distributed evenly above and below Flanders's 'average teacher'. They therefore suggest that, in this respect, English and American teachers are fairly similar. Table 7:2 shows that teachers of the same subject, or group of subjects, have a slight tendency to have similar 'scores' for teacher talk, pupil talk and for silence and confusion. Overall, the History and Geography staff have the highest percentages of teacher talk, followed by the majority of the science staff, while the language staff

have below average percentages.(4)

Comparisons Between Subjects

It is not difficult to understand why, in general, the History and Geography staff talk most, and the linguists least, with the scientists between them. Language staff, whether teaching modern or classical languages, are partly concerned with teaching their pupils to speak and read the language, rather than on giving them information about it. This means that they are interested in their pupils' oral performance for its own sake, and not just to check comprehension. It is not surprising,therefore, that in language lessons the teacher talks rather less, and the pupils rather more, than in other subjects.(5) The mean amount of pupil talk in the four language teachers' lessons is 28.1 per cent, considerably higher than the mean for all teachers in the sample.

(4) The mean 'scores' for Teacher Talk are as follows: the History and Geography staff, 77.8%; the Science staff, 72.4%; and the Linguists, 63.7%. The two English staff are rather far apart, a 'discrepancy' which is particularly interesting. Miss Keats' position in the table suggests her teaching is closer to the interactive parts of science lessons or that of the History and Geography staff, while Mrs Milton clearly looks as though she is teaching a language.
(5) This does not tell one anything about how much of the lesson is spoken in the other language - merely that there is more pupil talk of some kind. Two systematic techniques exist for discovering how much talk takes place in English, and how much in the other language, see, Wragg,(1971); and the FLint (Foreign Language Interaction) system (Simon and Boyer, 1970).

In general, the History and Geography teachers talk more than those of other subjects, partly because the current SED 'O' grade syllabuses in those subjects are strongly oriented towards factual material. This seems to result in the teachers concentrating on covering the syllabus by lecturing, rather than by allowing much discussion of the material.

The Science teachers, who, with the exception of Biology C, are shown to talk almost as much as the History and Geography staff, occupy an intermediate position between having a factual syllabus to cover, and trying to teach speaking as well as comprehension. However, the FIAC information on science staff is an incomplete sample of their behaviour in an important respect, and therefore a limiting example. The science staff appear to be talking for about three-quarters of their lessons, but in fact, we only know they are talking for three-quarters of the time spent in public interaction. For most school teachers, public interaction dominates the lesson - supporting Flanders' two thirds rule - but for science staff this is not the case. Particularly since the introduction of the revised SCE Science syllabus, practical work - during which public interaction is minimal - is a major feature of the lessons.

Science staff talk far more than their pupils in the parts of their classes that are spent in public interaction - deciding what experiment should be done next,

instructing how to do them, analysing the results, explaining mathematical calculations and theoretical points, setting homework and announcing tests, exams and so on. The rest of their periods - and it may be 60 minutes in an 80 minute lesson - is spent in other kinds of interaction, such as pupil-pupil talk, and private interaction with the teacher, which FIAC was not designed to pick up.

In one sense then, the FIAC data on the science teachers is masquerading under false pretences, because it only represents one aspect of the total lessons. Of course, all classes have some episodes which are outside the scope of FIAC (many teachers sometimes set a piece of silent seat-work, and move round the room discussing it with each girl in turn, or give the class something to read before it is discussed, or time to revise for a test) so that in one sense science lessons only represent an extreme example of the limitations of the method.

However, in science lessons the FIAC data does show what it claims to code - the pattern of public interaction. The possible danger lies in assuming that what cannot be studied with FIAC does not exist: by using another type of observation - e.g. unstructured - to 'catch' the other types of behaviour, this danger can be avoided. More significantly, unstructured observation may also provide a key to understand why certain teachers appear different from their subject colleagues. Chapter 8 consists of a study of two teachers based in part but not

exclusively on FIAC data: it uses these data as a basis for deeper analysis of individual factors like attitudes towards particular pupils, the 'personal front' displayed and the content of actual lessons taught during my field-work.

Additional Uses for FIAC Data

The matrices of FIAC data have more potential than merely calculating relative amounts of teacher and pupil talk. The percentages shown in Tables 7:1 and 7:2 deal with the quantities of talk in lessons, but the quality is a better indication of differences between teachers, and the 'quality' of teacher-pupil interaction is tapped by certain manipulations of the matrix data.

In his early work Flanders made extensive use of a simplistic distinction between teachers whose influence over the pupils was mainly indirect; that is biased in the direction of acceptance, praise and the use of student ideas; and those whose influence was mainly directive; that is biased in the direction of criticism and rejection. (See Flanders, 1965; compared with Flanders, 1970.) Since then he has derived a variety of more specific ratios, focused on more detailed aspects of the teaching, and it is four of these which I have chosen to use here.

These four are the Pupil Initiation Ratio (PIR), which concerns the relative proportions of pupil speech

which are solicited and initiated; the Teacher Response Ratio (TRR) which concerns the proportions of acceptance and rejection of pupil contributions by the teacher; the Teacher Question Ratio (TQR), which relates questioning to lecturing; and finally the Content Cross Ratio (CCR), which concerns the proportion of the interaction which is made up of material directly relevant to the scholastic content of the lesson.(6)

These four ratios have been chosen from the wide range described by Flanders because they capture the important differences in teaching style which are relevant to pupil conformity. Table 7:3 shows the 18 teachers ranked on the Teacher Response Ratio (TRR) and the Pupil Initiation Ratio (PIR); Table 7:4 the same staff ranked on the Content Cross Ratio (CCR) and the Teacher Question Ratio (TQR). In each case the teacher ranked first has the ratio score nearest to one hundred per cent. Flanders' 'Average American Teacher' and Wragg's 'Average British Student' are included on all the rankings as reference points.(7)

(6) These four ratios are calculated from the tallies recorded on the matrix as follows:

TRR - Total the tallies in Categories '1', '2' and '3', multiply that total by 100, then divide by the sum of categories '1', '2', '3', '6' and '7'.
TQR - '4' x 100/ '4' + '5'.
CCR - '4' + '5' x 100/ '1' through '7'.
PIR - '9' x 100/ '8' + '9'.

(7) Wragg (1971) used FIAC with 102 student teachers at Exeter University. He does not quote simple percentages for Teacher Talk etc. but gives ratios.

TABLE 7:3

FIAC Ratios - TQR and CCR

Rank	TQR[1]	Rank	CCR[2]
1	French B	1	Biology A
2	French C	2	Physics A
3	Chemistry A	3	Geography B
4	Flanders Av.	4	English B
5	English A	5	History B
6	Latin C	6	History A
7	Maths A	7	Physics C
8	Chemistry B	8	Chemistry A
9	Wragg Av.	9	Latin A
10	History B	10	Flanders Av.
11	Geography B	11	Maths B
12	Biology C	12	Wragg Av.
13	History A	13	Latin C
14	English B	14	Biology C
15	Geography A	15	Maths A
16	Physics C	16	French C
17	Latin A	17	Geography A
18	Physics A	18	English A
19	Maths B	19	French B
20	Biology A	20	Chemistry B
Mean Ratio (%age)	17.2		52.1
Wragg Mean Ratio (% age)	21.0		50.0
Flanders' Mean Ratio (% age)	26.0		55.0

Notes

1. TQR = Ratio of Questioning to Other Teacher Talk
2. CCR = Ratio of Academic Content to Other Teacher Talk.

TABLE 7:4

FIAC Ratios - TRR and PIR

Rank	TRR[1]	Rank	PIR[2]
1	History B	1	Physics A
2	Geography B	2	History B
3	English A	3	Biology A
4	Biology A	4	Geography B
5	Maths A	5	History A
6	Physics A	6	Geography A
7	History A	7	Chemistry B
8	French B	8	Biology C
9	Latin C	9	English A
10	Geography A	10	Maths. A
11	French C	11	Maths. B
12	Chemistry B	12	English B
13	Chemistry A	13	French B
14	Wragg Av.	14	Wragg Av.
15	Physics C	15	Physics C
16	English B	16	Chemistry A
17	Latin A	17	Flanders Av.
18	Biology C	18	Latin A
19	Maths. B	19	Latin C
20	Flanders Av.	20	French C
Mean Ratio (% age)	84.3		73.0
Wragg Mean Ratio (% age)	80.0		43.0
Flanders' mean Ratio (% age)	42.0		34.0

Notes

1. TRR = Ratio of Acceptance to Rejection of Pupil Contributions
2. PIR = Ratio of Pupil-Initiated to Demanded Contributions.

An examination of Table 7:3 shows that the majority of my sample of teachers have lower Teacher Question Ratios than the two 'Average Teachers'; and that they are equally distributed round Wragg's and Flanders' figures on the Content Cross Ratio. Table 7:4 shows the St Luke's teachers with higher scores on the Teacher Response Ratio and Pupil Initiation Ratio. This means that the Edinburgh sample accept a higher proportion of pupil contributions than Flanders' or Wragg's teachers; and that they receive more initiated pupil contributions relative to the solicited ones. The two ratios should be connected, as Flanders had found in many studies that the more a teacher accepts the pupils' contributions, the more unsolicited contributions he receives. Thus a higher than 'average' TRR should be associated with a higher than 'average' PIR, and both could be expected to be above average in a school like St Luke's, where the pupils do not need to be given much in the way of instructions and disciplinary statements.

The lower ratio of questioning to lecturing is less obviously explicable. Wragg found that his student teachers had lower ratios than Flanders's American teachers, and it is clear from Tables 7:3 and 7:4 that the average ratio at the Edinburgh schools is even lower than Wragg's figure. This is partly related to the higher average PIR - teachers receiving lots of unsolicited pupil contributions may not need to keep asking questions - one question sets off a chain of pupil responses. This certainly accounts

for some of the staff low on TQR - Biology A and Physics A for instance.

Another reason for some teachers having very low proportions of questioning to lecturing is related to the kind of drill-and-practice routines they employed. Some staff, like French B and C, solicited their oral pupil contributions by means of questions, and as we have seen they are high on pupil talk, so also we would expect to find them high on the TQR. (They are ranked 1 & 2.) Others, like Latin A, though high on pupil talk, do not ask questions, but drill their pupils round the class, demanding an answer from each in turn. Here questions are rare. If one compares the percentage of pupil talk from Table 7:1, and the teachers' rankings on the TQR and PIR, it is easy to see into which group they fit. Teachers with higher proportions of pupil talk are more likely to be at the ends of the TQR distribution, and which end they appear can be predicted from their position on the PIR ranking.

The CCR rankings are very much as one would expect. A highly academic school like St Luke's should produce CCR patterns with high proportions of content-oriented discourse. It is also not surprising that those teachers with high percentages of teacher talk, as shown in Table 1, should also have high content cross ratios. Those teachers who talk a great deal would be expected to concentrate on the content of their subjects. Thus the History staff, Geography B, Physics A and Biology A, and

English B are all high on both ranks, while the Maths and Language staff have lower positions on both ranks.

The FIAC ratios show, in summary, a sample of teachers who fall within 'normal' limits for English teachers as far as norms are available; and - where they differ from the 'average' pattern - it is in the directions one would predict from the nature of the sample. The St Luke's teachers were, as described in Chapter 3, a 'theoretical sample' of a particular sort. Thus, to find that they spend less time on disciplinary matters, and more time on scholastic content and the use of pupils' ideas, are exactly the behavioural differences from the 'average' members of the profession that should have been found.

Summary of General Findings with Flanders's System

The fourth interpretative principle given at the start of this chapter stated that the systematic techniques provide information about the norms of speech behaviour in the classroom at St Luke's. The information about the amount and nature of teacher talk at St Luke's provided by the material given above allows one to state the following rules or norms.

1) Teachers talk far more than all the girls combined - there are approximately 25 minutes of teacher talk in a forty minute lesson, and only eight minutes of pupil talk.

2) There is very little silence in the classrooms at St Luke's and very little time lost in confusion: about four minutes per lesson.

3) This implies that no-one has long periods for uninterrupted thought.

4) The ratios show that girls at St Luke's are more 'independent' than the average British or American pupil, and can expect to have more of their ideas accepted.

5) However they are lectured to and questioned about the academic content of their courses for over half the time they are in the classroom.

This picture of classroom life can be elucidated by switching now to the findings from systematic observation of the pupils and their contributions.

RESULTS OBTAINED WITH THE PUPIL-TALK SYSTEM

The category system for pupil-talk - described in the previous chapter - was used in 102 lessons taught by fourteen teachers. The categories were designed to study the behaviour of individual girls, but first more general results are introduced. Although the system was intended to focus on the girls, the results obtained are also illuminating about the teachers, and relating the findings back to the FIAC data goes some way towards validating the categories themselves.

Firstly, the straightforward number of tallies made during the 102 lessons is revealing about the nature of classroom discourse. While using the system 2,385 pupil contributions were tallied. 1,503 of these were content-oriented, and 882 were not. (In other words there are twice as many content-oriented contributions as there are tangential ones.) These 882 tangential contributions were made up of 599 which were independent, and 283 which were dependent. In the 98 lessons observed with the fourteen teachers, there were, on average, 24 pupil contributions per lesson, of which an average of fifteen were content-oriented (63 per cent) and approximately nine were not.

This accords reasonably well with the findings of the previous section, in particular with the figure for the content cross ratio (52 per cent). It also accords well with a finding made by Barnes, while studying the nature of teachers' questions. He classified all questions asked by the teachers of five lessons which he had recorded for analysis. From this tiny sample he produced the tentative result that in all the subjects (except science) the teachers' questions implied factual pupil answers rather than answers based on reasoning, feelings or experience. This was equally true in the Maths lesson, as in three

Arts subjects, History, English and RE (Barnes, 1969 p. 21).[8]

Similar findings are given by Bellack et al (1966), by Smith and Meux (1970) and in Flanders's work:

> 'More than two-thirds of all teacher questions are concerned with narrow lines of interrogation which stimulate an expected result.'
>
> (Flanders, 1970, p. 13)

In other words many different kinds of classroom research have shown that a preponderance of content-oriented pupil contributions is to be expected.

Of course not all lessons taught by one teacher, nor all subjects, produce 24 contributions per lesson, with 15 content-oriented and 9 others. The staff at St Luke's produce a pattern from their pupil contributions which is as varied as that shown by the FIAC data. Before presenting the data on the St Luke's staff in detail, some points need to be made about the relationship between the results obtained with FIAC and with pupil-talk system.

(8) The proportions Barnes quotes were: 36 factual questions to 17 reasoning ones in Maths, and 70 factual to 17 reasoning in the Arts subjects. In the science lesson the proportion was 9 factual to 19 reasoning. Barnes was most perturbed by the low proportion of non-factual questions in the three humanities, saying that: 'This proportion suggests that the three arts teachers were teaching as though their tasks were more concerned with information than thought. If so, this is the version of the subjects that the children were learning.'

FIAC and Pupil Talk

The relationship between the teacher 'profiles' produced with my pupil-talk system and the data gathered with the FIAC system is problematic. The number, and the nature of, the pupil contributions in each teacher's lessons should have some features in common with the FIAC codings done in other lessons taught by those same teachers: yet, at the same time, the purpose and nature of the two techniques is so different that one would not expect there to be an exact duplication. The first period of field-work was spent using FIAC, and the later stages using my pupil talk system, so any commonality which exists serves in part as both a validation of my system, and a measure of the consistency of the teacher's performances over half a school term. Against this, the pupil talk system takes much more account of the details of different types of pupil talk than the simple solicited/initiated dichotomy which underlies Flanders' two pupil talk categories (coded '8' and '9'), and so one would not expect to find the two sets of results to be equally informative and comprehensive. In addition, Flanders' system is based on time-sampling, that is it records the amount of time various behaviours take: while the system of pupil talk categories is based on counting and classifying moves, that is separate events.

Bearing these caveats in mind, it is useful to compare briefly the information on the teachers which is produced by the two complementary systems. First, the

information about the teachers we can glean from the pupil talk system: table 7:5 shows the average number of pupil contributions per lesson for each of the fourteen staff members, and the average for all staff studied.

Table 7:5 shows that the average number of pupil contributions per lesson varies from 38.3 to only 7.8. The relative proportions of pupil talk which are content-oriented, independent and dependent vary even more markedly between the fourteen staff. Table 7:6 shows the average number of contributions per lesson of each type, together with the average for all the teachers studied.

Table 7:6 shows that there are enormous variations between teachers in the relative proportions of contributions in the three category-groups. The average number of content-oriented contributions per lesson varies from 31.5 (French B) to 1.7 (Maths B); the average number of independent contributions from 11.7 (English A) to 0.3 (Latin A); and the average number of dependent ones from 11.5 (History B) to 0.3 (English B).(9) The 'normal' pattern of contributions at St Luke's is that there are 2½ times as many content-oriented contributions as independent ones, and twice as many independent ones as dependent, but some individual teachers have completely

(9) I was only able to watch 3 lessons of Mrs Bruce's using my system, so this 'abnormally' high figure may well be an artefact.

TABLE 7:5

Rank Order of Total Pupil Contributions

Rank Order	Subject	Name	Average No. of Total Pupil Contributions per lesson
1	History A	Flodden	38.3
2	Maths A	Napier	37.0
3	English A	Milton	34.4
4	French B	French	32.8
5	Latin A	Iliad	29.3
6	Chemistry A	Boyle	29.0
7	Geography A	Hill	28.3
8	Geography B	Miss Dale	27.2
	'Average St Luke's Teacher'		24.0
9	Biology A	Linnaeus	19.1
10	English B	Keats	18.7
11	History B	Bruce	18.5
12	Chemistry B	Dalton	12.8
13	Physics A	Cavendish	10.7
14	Maths. B	Newton	7.8

TABLE 7:6

Breakdown of Pupil Contribution Categories by Subject

Name	Subject	Ave. No. of Pupil contributions per lesson		
		Content-Oriented	Tangential	
			Independent	Dependent
Napier	Maths. A	23.3	9.2	4.4
Newton	Maths. B	1.7	2.8	3.3
Milton	English A	22.1	11.7	0.5
Keats	English B	14.5	3.8	0.3
Flodden	History A	25.0	10.3	2.8
Bruce	History B	6.0	1.0	11.5
Hill	Geography A	15.0	8.1	5.1
Dale	Geography B	22.0	4.0	1.2
Cavendish	Physics A	3.3	5.8	1.6
Linnaeus	Biology A	4.3	10.0	4.8
Boyle	Chemistry A	24.0	3.1	1.8
Dalton	Chemistry B	7.0	2.5	3.3
French	French B	31.5	1.1	0.1
Iliad	Latin A	27.0	0.3	2.0
Mean for all St Luke's teachers		15.0	6.0	2.7
Percentage per lesson for all teachers		62.8%	25.4%	11.7%

different patterns from this. Miss Iliad for instance has an extraordinarily low 'score' for independent contributions, while Mrs Flodden, Mrs Milton and Mrs Linnaeus have very high 'scores' for them. The two English staff and French B are very low on dependent contributions.

There are both points in common between the results of FIAC shown in Tables 7:1 and 7:2 and of the pupil-talk system shown in Table 7:5 and 7:6 and apparent discrepancies. For example Table 7:1 showed that the History and Geography teachers talked for a large <u>per centage</u> of the interaction time, while Table 7:5 shows Mrs Flodden has the highest mean number of pupil moves, and these two facts might appear to be incompatible. Yet, as we have seen above, a system like FIAC based on time-sampling is measuring a different kind of phenomenon from the pupil-talk system which counts <u>moves</u>. Thus there is no reason why a teacher who talks a great deal should not receive a large number of pupil moves if she asks questions needing one-word answers, and this is indeed the reason why Mrs Flodden seems to have such a high amount of pupil talk - she receives short answers, the other History and Geography staff get fewer moves, of longer duration.

There should also be some complex relationships between the staff rankings on the various FIAC ratios, and their 'profiles' on the pupil-talk system. First, it is a reasonable hypothesis that the percentage of the total classroom interaction time spent in pupil talk (as measured

by Flanders) should be related to the average number of pupil moves per lesson (classified by my system). Table 7:7 shows the fourteen St Luke's staff ranked on both criteria, with the teacher who received the most pupil contributions at the top. This table shows that there is the expected relationship between the two ranks; those teachers who had high percentages of pupil talk in their classes during the first weeks of my research also had large average numbers of pupil moves in their classes in the second period of the project.(10) Teachers like Latin A, who have a high percentage of pupil talk also have a higher than average number of pupil contributions.

One of the FIAC ratios which has already been used in this chapter to compare the staff, the Pupil Initiation Ratio (PIR), should bear some relationship to the number of non-content-oriented, or tangential pupil moves recorded. The PIR is an indication of the relative proportions of pupil talk spent in answering teacher questions as opposed to initiating interaction with the teacher.(11) The content-oriented pupil moves, recorded by my system, are mainly pupil contributions which would be coded '8' with FIAC, and the tangential moves in my system would be '9' in FIAC. Consequently, teachers with a high PIR should also

(10) The relationship between the two ranks is a statistically significant one - using Spearman's Rho $p = .05$.
(11) The PIR is calculated by adding the totals in categories 8 and 9 and dividing the total into the number of tallies in category 9 multiplied by 100.

TABLE 7:7

Rank Order on Two Measures
of Pupil Talk

Rank order on FIAC Percentage pupil talk		Rank order on Pupil Talk Moves Highest mean no. moves	
Name	Subject	Name	Subject
French	French B	Flodden	History A
Iliad	Latin A	Napier	Maths. A
Milton	English A	Milton	English A
Hill	Geography A	French	French B
Napier	Maths. A	Iliad	Latin A
Boyle	Chemistry A	Boyle	Chemistry A
Bruce	History B	Hill	Geography A
Linneaus	Biology A	Dale	Geography B
Keats	English B	Linnaeus	Biology A
Cavendish	Physics A	Keats	English B
Dalton	Chemistry B	Bruce	History B
Dale	Geography B	Dalton	Chemistry B
Flodden	History A	Cavendish	Physics A
Newton	Maths. B	Newton	Maths. B

have a high average number of tangential moves in their classes. Table 7:8 shows the staff ranked on the two criteria, with the teacher who received the highest number of tangential contributions, and the highest proportion of pupil initiated contributions at the top of the two ranks.

There is again a statistically significant association between the two ranks.(12) Thus it is clear that the measure of tangential pupil moves does bear some relation to the Pupil Initiation Ratio.

Teacher Influence and Pupil Conformity

In his early work Flanders laid considerable emphasis on the i/d ratio, which relates the amounts of direct and indirect influence exerted upon the pupils. Many of the studies reported in Flanders (1970) use this ratio as the basis of research into the correlates of teacher behaviour with pupil behaviour, attitudes and achievement. Some relationship should exist between that measure of teacher influence and the data on tangential and independent pupil moves.(13)

(12) Using Spearman's Rho, p = .01.
(13) The percentage Pupil Talk and the average number of pupil moves, or the PIR and the average number of tangential pupil moves were, in effect, comparisons of different ways of measuring the same, or closely similar phenomena. Any relationships which exist between the i/d ratio and types of pupil moves would be 'proof' of an association between one aspect of teaching behaviour and another aspect of pupil behaviour. That is, the tables already given are a kind of validation of my pupil talk system; but any association between the amount of direct influence a mistress uses and independent pupil behaviour is a way of testing a new hypothesis about classroom interaction.

TABLE 7:8

Rank Orders on Two Measures of Pupil Initiation

Name	PIR	Name	Average No. Tangential Pupil Moves
Cavendish	Physics A	Linnaeus	Biology A
Bruce	History B	Napier	Maths. A
Linnaeus	Biology A	Hill	Geography A
Dale	Geography B	Flodden	History A
Hill	Geography A	Bruce	History B
Flodden	History A	Milton	English A
Dalton	Chemistry B	Cavendish	Physics A
Milton	English A	Newton	Maths. B
Napier	Maths. A	Dalton	Chemistry B
Newton	Maths. B	Dale	Geography B
Keats	English B	Boyle	Chemistry A
French	French B	Keats	English A
Boyle	Chemistry A	Iliad	Latin A
Iliad	Latin A	French	French B

Given the accumulated body of knowledge on the results and correlates of indirect teaching influence clear predictions can be made about the relationship between ranking on the i/d ratio and the average number of tangential and independent moves received. Teachers who exert an above average proportion of indirect influence should receive above average numbers of tangential and of independent pupil moves. This is in fact the case. The relationship between the rank orders on the i/d ratio and the tangential moves is statistically significant on two different criteria.(14) The association between the i/d ratio and independent moves is almost as clear-cut, though significant on only one criterion.(15)

FIAC and Pupil Talk: A Summary

The Flanders's system and the pupil talk system have been shown to be related in four ways; two of which

(14) If the two ranks (i/d and tangential pupil moves) are compared using Spearman's Rho, p = .05. If the two ranks are divided at the median, and the staff distributed into a 2 x 2 contingency table according to whether they appeared in the same half in both ranks or not, the cell distribution is 6,1,1,6, which is a significant one, using Fisher's Exact Probability Test, p = .025. (The teachers' rank order on the i/d ratio is the same as that on the TRR ratio, shown in Table 7:4.)

(15) The Spearman's Rho on these two rank orders just misses being significant at the five per cent level, due entirely to History B, who has a high i/d ratio but a low one on the independent rank. (See Table 7:6.) The 2 x 2, above and below median, method does produce a significant result, using Fisher, p = .025. If History B is dropped Spearman's Rho is then significant, p = .05.

serve as partial validations of the pupil talk system, while the other two prove hypotheses about the relationship between teacher style and pupil speech behaviour. The two validations were as follows:

1) Teachers who had a high percentage of pupil talk in their classes during the first weeks of my research also had a high number of individual pupil contributions during the latter part of the field-work.

2) Teachers who had a high ratio of initiated pupil contributions (coded '9') to solicited ones (coded '8') also show a high number of contributions coded as 'tangential' to the academic content by my system.

The two new hypotheses are as follows:

1) Teachers who show an above average amount of acceptance in reaction to pupil contributions should receive more tangential moves from their classes. This is true for the St Luke's sample.

2) Teachers who accept a high proportion of pupil contributions should receive more 'independent' contributions from pupils. This is also true for the St Luke's sample.

In summary, therefore, not only does the FIAC material support the coding of pupil contributions I adopted; but also this category system supports Flanders's theories about the effects of indirect teaching upon the nature of pupil responses. Before leaving this part of the discussion of systematic observation to go on to the

individuals and their behaviours and beliefs, this section is concluded by a brief mention of the classroom contribution pattern of the 'average' pupil.

The 'Average' Girl

We have already seen that pupil talk is a rare phenomenon - in an 'average' lesson there will only be eight minutes of pupil talk, which will be made up of 24 separate moves, fifteen of which will be content-oriented. At St Luke's, where the largest group in which any girl was taught during my study was 22, these average figures could mean that each girl spoke once in each of her classes, but an examination of the actual contribution pattern I found was very different.

First, the total number of contributions made in all categories averages out at a figure which varies from 3.7 per ten lessons to 40.8 per ten lessons, with a mean figure of 14.41 (SD 9.35, Median 12.13).(16) This is made up of content-oriented contributions for the most part, of which there are, on average 9.03 (per ten lessons, SD 5.10, Median 7.8). The remainder of the contributions

(16) There is a problem in presenting this material: the tiny number of moves made by some of the sample. This makes the average number of contributions for some girls small fractions. To combat this, all the data on the girls is expressed in terms of the average number of contributions per ten lessons. Thus a girl who made 9 moves in 10 lessons would have her mean number of contributions expressed as 9 in 10 rather than as 0.9 in 1 lesson.

are made up of 3.26 independent and 1.72 dependent moves. Thus the average girl makes only 1.4 contributions of all types per lesson, and only makes a tangential contribution four times in every ten lessons she attends. The next section shows how these average figures conceal striking individual differences, and variations between subjects.

PUPIL TALK:
Distributions, Correlates and Individual Differences

In the previous section the gross differences in the distributions of pupil talk across subjects and between teachers were covered, together with the figures for the contribution 'pattern' of the 'average' girl. In this section the changes in this pattern among the various individual girls are discussed, first in relation to their form-mates, then as correlates of 'personality' variables, and finally as evidence of the interaction effects described in the last section from the viewpoint of the teachers.

The range of individual contribution patterns is enormous. Some girls made public contributions so rarely that their average number of contributions per lesson was a tiny fraction, while others spoke frequently, so that their average number of moves per lesson was well over the single one which a completely equitable 'share' of pupil talk time would allow. Because each girl was observed in different numbers of lessons, and because some girls spoke so little, the data are presented here in terms of the

average number of contributions per girl (per ten lessons) across all subjects.

The nature of the data being what they are, the figures for each individual are dispersed at irregular intervals throughout a considerable range. Rather than presenting them in this sparse form I have divided the girls up into five criterion groups on the basis of their average contribution scores. Table 7:9 shows the range of average total contribution scores for each group, and the names of the girls within it.

This table shows that there are 17 girls who are making only one contribution or less per lesson (i.e. 10 or less in 10 lessons). In fact two girls, Wendy (3.7) and Geraldine (4.0), are making only one contribution for every two classes they attend! These figures, though valid reconstructions of their classroom behaviour, are very difficult to subdivide into different types of contribution so that estimates of their work-styles can be arrived at. It is not necessarily true that 'silent' girls are similar in any other respect, but their <u>behaviour</u> is difficult to use as evidence of their differences.

TABLE 7:9

Criterion Groups - Total Contributions
Across all Subjects

Group	Score Range (in 10 lessons)	Girls Included	Number
1	3.7 to 7.5	Caitlin, Olivia, Clare, Nancy, Rosalind, Eleanor, Hazel, Geraldine, Wendy,	9
2	7.6 to 10.1	Louise, Lorraine, Monica, Vanessa, Alexandra, Tessa, Deborah, Fleur.	8
3	11.9 to 12.8	Angela, Philippa, Zoe, Gale, Belinda, Mary, Frances, Esther.	8
4	13.0 to 18.4	Charmian, Barbara, Penny, Karen, Yvonne, Janice, Lorna, Jackie.	8
5	18.6 to 40.8	Cheryl, Henrietta, Evelyn, Selina, Katherine, Jill, Michelle, Sharon.	8

Content-Oriented Moves

The breakdown of the pupil scores into content-oriented, independent and dependent contributions provides more interesting data on the individual pupils. The content-oriented moves range from 0.9 (Frances) to 23.0 (Katherine) with a mean of 9.03 (SD 5.10, median 7.8); a spread of 14. These contributions were also divided into five criterion groups, and Table 7:10 shows the girls who fell into each group.

TABLE 7:10

Criterion Groups - Content-Oriented
Contributions Across all Subjects

Group	Score Range (in 10 lessons)	Girls Included	Number
1	0.9 to 4.8	Rosalind, Eleanor, Clare, Geraldine, Frances, Wendy, Vanessa, Nancy.	8
2	5.1 to 6.9	Fleur, Hazel, Louise, Lorraine, Monica, Caitlin, Olivia, Charmian, Alexandra	9
3	7.1 to 9.1	Esther, Janice, Deborah, Angela, Karen, Philippa, Yvonne, Tessa.	8
4	9.3 to 13.0	Belinda, Mary, Lorna, Jackie, Michelle, Penny, Barbara, Zoe, Gale.	9
5	14.0 to 23.0	Cheryl, Henrietta, Jill, Sharon, Selina, Evelyn, Katherine.	7

It is not surprising that, as content-oriented moves make up the major part of most girls' total, Table 7:9 and 7:10 look fairly similar. Girls who have lower than average total contributions tend also to make fewer than average content-oriented ones (Geraldine, Rosalind and Wendy) while those with higher than average totals also tend to make more than average numbers of content-oriented contributions (Cheryl, Henrietta, Jill and Sharon). Fifteen girls come in the top sections on both tables, twelve in the bottom on both.

Independent Contributions

The independent contributions were fewer in number than the content-oriented ones for all but a tiny handful of girls as one would expect from the overall figures shown in Table 7:7. An examination of a detailed breakdown of the scores in the independent sector shows that although the range of scores is as great as that for content-oriented moves (a spread of 19 points) the top scores are considerably lower. Two girls (Geraldine and Yvonne) made no contributions in any of the categories making up the independent sector during the whole of my fieldwork; while the highest number of independent moves came from Henrietta (19 per ten lessons). In fact there are only three girls who make an average of over 10 per 10 lessons, whereas there were 14 girls who made 10 or more content-oriented contributions in ten lessons and 3 made more than 20.

The mean number of independent contributions per ten lessons was 2.26 (SD 4.46, Median 1.57) clearly far lower than the mean for content-oriented contributions (9.03). Table 7:11 shows the names of the girls falling into the five criterion groups and the limits of those groups. This table does show radical differences from the two previous ones. Some girls who have average, or higher than average numbers of content-oriented contributions, such as Gale and Yvonne, make very few independent ones, (none in Yvonne's case, 0.5 in ten lessons for Gale)

while others (such as Vanessa, Fleur and Frances) who make very few content-oriented ones, have a high average for independent contributions.

TABLE 7:11

Criterion Groups - Independent Moves
Across all Subjects

Group	Score Range (per 10 lessons)	Girls Included	Number
1	None to 0.6	Louise, Caitlin, Yvonne, Gale, Deborah, Rosalind, Hazel, Geraldine, Wendy.	9
2	0.7 to 1.1	Monica, Philippa, Tessa, Alexandra, Belinda, Jackie, Eleanor.	7
3	1.3 to 2.2	Lorraine, Olivia, Zoe, Clare, Nancy, Mary, Cheryl, Lorna, Frances.	9
4	2.3 to 4.7	Barbara, Angela, Selins, Karen, Vanessa, Esther, Janice, Penny.	8
5	5.7 to 19.0	Evelyn, Katherine, Jill, Charmian, Fleur, Michelle, Henrietta, Sharon.	8

Dependent Moves

Finally, the criterion groups for dependent contributions are shown in Table 7:12 (below). Dependent contributions are the rarest of all types for my St Luke's sample. Four girls (Caitlin, Gale, Deborah and Rosalind) had none at all recorded for them during my observation and the highest average was 10 in ten lessons, recorded for Yvonne. The mean for the whole sample was 1.72 in ten lessons (SD 2.11, Median 1.17).

Table 7:12 shows that dependent contributions are commonly made by some girls who make few content-oriented or independent ones; Tessa, Philippa and Janice all figuring higher on Table 7:12 than on Table 7:10 or 7:11. It also shows that some girls who make few content-oriented contributions make above average numbers of both dependent and independent ones; Frances, Vanessa, and Nancy, while others are relatively above average on all types such as Sharon and Henrietta.

TABLE 7:12

Criterion Groups - Dependent Contributions
Across all Subjects

Group	Score Range (in 10 lessons)	Girls Included	Number
1	None to 0.4	Caitlin, Charmian, Gale, Mary, Deborah, Rosalind, Wendy, Geraldine.	8
2	0.5 to 0.9	Barbara, Angela, Olivia, Clare, Fleur, Eleanor, Hazel.	7
3	1.0 to 1.4	Lorraine, Karen, Monica, Esther, Lorna, Penny, Zoe, Vanessa, Nancy, Frances	10
4	1.5 to 2.2	Louise, Selina, Alexandra, Tessa, Belinda, Michelle, Henrietta, Sharon.	8
5	2.3 to 10.0	Cheryl, Philippa, Evelyn, Katherine, Yvonne, Jill, Janice, Jackie.	8

These then are the ranges of contribution patterns found among my sample. Before moving on to correlations with pupil talk, one other aspect of the girls' classroom behaviour; namely silence. We have seen that many girls take very little part in the public discourse of the classroom. Table 7:13 shows the percentage of lessons in which each girl made no public contribution at all.

TABLE 7:13

Percentage of Silent Lessons

Percentage lessons	Girls included	No.
Over 60%	Geraldine, Caitlin, Gale, Rosalind	4
Over 50%	Clare and Wendy	2
Over 40%	Monica, Nancy, Deborah, Tessa, Olivia Frances, Lorna, Esther, Belinda, Fleur, Eleanor	11
Over 30%	Yvonne, Alexandra, Lorraine, Vanessa, Hazel, Angela, Charmian, Louise, Zoe, Janice, Philippa, Cheryl, Barbara	13
Under 29%	Mary, Selina, Penny, Karen, Jackie, Evelyn, Michelle, Jill	8
Under 10%	Henrietta, Sharon, Katharine	3

Table 7:13 shows clearly that the relative distribution of pupil moves is very unequal. Four girls were silent in more than two-thirds of all the classes I observed them attend during half one term, while three others spoke publicly in ninety per cent of their lessons.

The majority of girls are silent in somewhere between fifty and thirty per cent of all their classes, while a minority of the sample are either silent in over half the lessons they attend, or else contribute in nearly every lesson. A wide range of individual variation is apparent.

In Chapter 9 some individual styles will be discussed, but first it is necessary to discuss, briefly, the correlations between this categorisation of pupil talk and some of the other aspects of pupil attitudes and behaviour used in the research.

Correlations with Pupil Talk

The various other measures of pupil behaviour and attitude used in the study, together with their relationships or lack of relationship, with pupil talk, are shown in a summary table at the end of this section. Some points are worth stressing in the text because they are particularly revealing or important.

There are schools of thought in psychology who abhor the reporting of non-significant findings, but the most important results obtained using my pupil talk categories are equally divided between significant results which confirm hypotheses and non-significant ones which dispel doubts about the system's function. For example, the grade of total, or of content-oriented or other contributions is not related to academic ability, nor to

subject specialisation.(17) That is, the pupil talk categories are <u>not</u> tapping a manifestation of differential ability, but rather a genuine aspect of different personal styles unrelated to ability. Also, the amount and type of pupil moves are not associated with any of the three widely used measures of personal style in education.(18) That is, whether a girl is an extrovert or an introvert, neurotic or stable, or biased towards convergent or divergent reasoning, has nothing to do with her classroom speech patterns.(19)

In contrast to these negative results, there are significant relationships between the two aspects of work-style tapped by the sylb/sylf inventory; that is being syllabus-bound or free and being conscientious or not; and the type of contributions made in classroom discourse. In other words the pupil talk system <u>did</u> succeed in capturing

(17) There is one exception to this - the two girls, Monica and Olivia, taking mixed, low-status courses, made few content-oriented moves, and this gives a significant Chi Square result in a 3 x 5 table. If these two are excluded, this significance vanishes, and is, I think, trivial.
(18) All the girls who attended interviews completed the EPI and Hudson's two 'tests' of divergent reasoning, 'Meanings of Words' and 'Uses of Objects'. (Hudson, 1966.)
(19) There is, in fact, one significant relationship between these 'personality' measures and classroom talk; Introverts have frequently been found to be more academically successful at secondary level (Entwhistle and Welsh, 1969) and so might be expected to contribute more 'relevant' moves in class. This latter prediction would be more convincing if there were any associations between introversion and academic ability, or between academic ability and content-oriented moves. Neither association exists, and the distribution of cases in the contingency tables does not produce any hopes that one might exist with larger samples.

the manifestations of individual study habits as it was designed to do.(20) In addition there are correlations between certain types of pupil moves and both clique membership and further education intentions; which, with the work-style associations, produce a meaningful set of interrelated variables.

Classroom Speech and the Good Pupil

This set of variables also relates back to the material on the girls' ideas about the 'good' pupil, given in Chapter 5 and the account of the development of the inventory in Chapter 2. One important characteristic of the good pupil is answering questions in class, and one of the bad behaviours is volunteering one's own opinions. Both these behaviours are tapped by my system, the former by the various content-oriented categories, the latter by the various independent categories. Chapter 2 described how the sylb/sylf inventory was used in a sample of Scottish schools, which enables us to compare the St Luke's sample with others, and the correlates of being syllabus-bound or free, which gives us some idea about how

(20) The reader should be reminded that the syllabus-bound inventory was not analysed until after the field-work was completed.

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the sylb or sylf at St Luke's might 'fit' into a network of variables.(21)

Given the pupils' opinions about good and bad classroom behaviour, and the information about syllabus-boundedness and conscientiousness, there are two hypotheses which can be made concerning the number and kinds of contributions which could be expected to appear. Syllabus-free girls should, according to both the logic of the inventory and my original decision to undertake classroom research, make more independent contributions - that is 'behave badly' - in lessons, to fit the rest of the sample's perception of sylfs as unpopular with teachers. This hypothesis was confirmed: syllabus-free girls did in fact have higher average placings for independent contributions than did sylbs or intermediates.(22)

(21) i. The mean score of the St Luke's sample on the inventory was 12.00, placing them nearer the syllabus-free end of the continuum than the sample from The Laurels and that from another academic girls' school, and level with an English girls' public school tested by Hudson (1968). (The rest of the scores came from boys' schools and one unacademic girls' sample.) On the conscientiousness scale the St Luke's sample came in the middle of the distribution with a mean of 4.92.

ii. The particular correlates relevant here concern further education, and subject specialisation. Chapter 2 showed how, in a large sample of school pupils, sylbs avoided taking mixed courses, and tended to be science specialists rather than to take arts courses. That sample were older, and so had a clearer specialisation pattern. For the St Luke's sample being a sylb had no unambiguous relation to specialisation; and, though sylfs tended to be taking sciences rather than languages among those bright enough to have a real choice, it was not significant.

iii. In the large sample, among the girls, sylfs were significantly unlikely to be planning university courses, but at St Luke's this was not the case.

(22) Using x^2, $p = 04$ in a 3 x 2 contingency table.

The second hypothesis concerned conscientiousness and classroom speech patterns. If the 'good' pupil is someone who works hard, then she should be classified as conscientious according to her responses to the inventory, and she should answer in class; that is, she should make a large number of content-oriented moves. This hypothesis is also confirmed; conscientious girls do come high up on the ranking for content-oriented contributions.(23)

Chapter 4 described the informal friendship groups, or cliques, to which the girls in my sample belonged, and related them to certain other factors, such as home background, estimates of the amount of leisure reading done, and hobbies. Clique membership is significantly associated with one type of classroom speech - making independent contributions. Girls who were members of Clique 5 (the group given the nickname by Henrietta of 'intellectuals') are significantly more likely to be in the two criterion groups at the upper end of the distribution for independent moves, and girls from Cliques 1 and 2 (the boarders, and the girls involved in an adolescent sub-culture) to be in the bottom two criterion groups.(24) That is, the girls from Clique 5 make a large number of independent moves, and the boarders and the members of Clique 2, a small number.

(23) Using x^2, $p = .01$, in a 3 x 3 contingency table.
(24) Cliques 1 and 2 were intermediate in academic achievement, not the lowest groups.

Clique 5 is not, however, made up entirely of sylfs;[25] it contains one of the two sylbs whose classroom speech patterns are at odds with her response to the inventory.

The further education intentions which my sample held were described in Chapter 5, and it was noticeable that the majority of the sample were, at the time of my study, planning to go to university. There are significant correlations between whether or not a girl intended to go to university and her classroom speech patterns - girls who did not plan university are significantly likely to make below average numbers of both independent and dependent moves.[26] The interpretation of this is not obvious. It may be that all those girls who hope to go to university have a slightly more career-oriented outlook, and therefore are the ones who challenge the teacher's conduct of the lesson by interrupting it; though some seek extra clarification, while others wish to add their own contributions. Finally, there is a correlation between making an above average number of independent moves and estimating one's reading as above average.[27] This fits with the fact that members of Clique 5 make above average numbers of independent moves,

(25) Clique 5 consisted of Henrietta and Michelle, who are classified as sylfs, Jill, Charmian, Philippa and Penny, classified as intermediates, and Evelyn, a sylb.
(26) Using x^2, in a 5 x 5 contingency table independent moves go with Further Education intentions, $p = .03$; dependent moves go too, $p = .01$.
(27) In a 5 x 3 contingency table, x^2, $p = .05$.

as they also read more (or claim to). Table 7:14 shows all these relationships and all the non-significant ones as well, to give a summary of this section.

TABLE 7:14

Summary of Relationships between Types of Pupil Talk and Other Factors

	Types of Contribution			
	Total	Content-Oriented	Indep-endent	Dependent
Extraversion	NS	p=.03	NS	NS
Neuroticism	NS	NS	NS	NS
Divergent Reasoning	NS	NS	NS	NS
Acad.Score	NS	NS	NS	NS
Specialty	NS	p=.05	NS	NS
Further Educ. Intentions	NS	NS	p=.03	p=.01
Clique	NS	NS	p=.01	NS
Reading	NS	NS	p=.05	NS
Sylb/Sylf	NS	NS	p=.04	NS
Conscient-iousness	NS	p=.01	NS	NS

Notes on Table 7:14

All significance levels were calculated on Edinburgh's IBM 360/50, with the programmes in the SPSS package. They are therefore exact figures, and not expressed as 'less than', as is usual. All the correlations were run with the five criterion groups for contributions, and repeated with the two extreme groups collapsed, to make three groups. (High, average, and low.) The correlations between sylb/sylf and conscientiousness and speech patterns were found in 3 x 3 tables, that with extraversion in an 3 x 5, all the rest were found whether the speech groups were collapsed or not - that is in 3 x 'the variable' and 5 x 'the variable'.

CHAPTER 8

TWO TEACHERS

From Group Data to a Depth Analysis of Two Teachers - Systematic and Unstructured Data Combined

'There is, I know, in some minds an inclination to regard as unimportant, carefulness in dress and carriage and in speech! There are teachers whose classrooms always have a general air of untidiness. These things are all factions in the sum total of the impression which the teacher's personality makes upon the pupil and are more easily perceived and estimated by the pupil than the genius, or scholarship, or the special enthusiasm which are sometimes brought forward as extenuating circumstances.'

(Written in 1923 by St Luke's first headmistress - quoted in the official history of the school.)

Introduction

This chapter compares the two mistresses who taught my sample English. The data on them collected with systematic observation techniques are related to other material, collected by unstructured observation, formal and informal interviews, and questionnaires. The comparison uses the results obtained with Flanders's categories, described in the previous chapter, in a novel way. Differences in style, captured by the systematic methods, are related to other facets of the teaching performance - for example, 'personal front', physical setting, and the girls' perceptions of lessons.

Unstructured Observation and FIAC

The main purpose of this research is the study of the antecedents of individual behaviour in the classroom, and its consequences. In this chapter the integration of systematic and unstructured data on the teachers takes place, and the systematic material is used in what, to a worker in the mainstream of interaction analysis, is an unorthodox way. The previous two chapters discussed systematic techniques in general, and FIAC in particular, in terms of their main theoretical and methodological premises, but little reference was made to the actual uses made of FIAC data by researchers once they are gathered. It is in this area that the main difference between my study and others published using the same technique in fact occurs, for although I have certain criticisms of systematic techniques in general - which include reservations about FIAC - I have solved any problems which arise from these reservations by limiting the contexts in which it was used, in the ways described in Chapters 1, 2 and 6. In summary I believe that FIAC is a useful and valid technique for classroom research of some types and I have used it only for those types. The normal uses made of the data are not very relevant here, and here I suggest another use, which involves combining them with unstructured observation.

Flanders and his associates have used their results with the technique for two main purposes: they

have sought correlations between aspects of teacher behaviour and pupil behaviours or attitudes - by using achievement tests and attitude inventories. For example, in one study Amidon and Flanders matched groups of geometry classes taught by directive and indirect teachers, and looked at the gains in geometry and changes in attitude among dependent and independent pupils. (Amidon and Flanders; 1961.) They have also used the method for teacher training purposes. This work is described by Flanders (1970) and for England by Wragg (1971)(1)

This research project is different from both these major types. First, it had nothing to do with teacher training, though its conclusions may be relevant to future work in that field. Second, although it has some affinities with the first sort of study, the project has a quite separate focus. The research customarily undertaken with FIAC has looked for group data or for findings which could be generalised to large populations of teachers or large numbers of classrooms. (For example, researchers may take 8th grade geometry or 7th grade social studies, and draw a sample of teachers, who are then visited on several occasions. The resulting data tell one something about 'typical' 8th grade geometry teaching or 'typical' 7th grade social studies.) The

(1) In a typical teacher training project student teachers are taught how to code teaching behaviours with FIAC, and then pairs of students observe each other, and discuss the results. The students can then try to alter their behaviour and make it more 'effective' in ways suggested by the research results.

project here was intended to be a study of individuals: there was no intention of producing data about norms for teachers. A second intention was to study a sample of pupils in all their lessons. I thus wanted to look at all those teachers who taught those pupils, which meant in many subjects, although I knew that comparisons between teachers across subjects are dangerous.

Flanders and his associates can be said to 'control' their research by fixing ages and sex of the pupils, their IQ level, the subject taught, and the time of day when observations are made. Teachers of differing ages, sex and background are then studied and compared with other factors held constant.(2) My project in fact controlled the pupils even more carefully, in that they were always the same ones, and controlled the sex of the teachers, while leaving their ages, the subject matter, and the time of day open to variation. This means that comparisons,

(2) This assumes, of course, that it is possible to control the important variables in the classroom by such simple exclusions. My main quarrel with the practitioners of systematic observation is this assumption, which I believe to be fallacious. Even after standardising the age, ability and social class of the pupils, and the subject matter and time of day, the really crucial determinants of classroom interaction may still be unaffected - we do not know.

This is not to say that it is wrong to make such controls before studying teachers, because all those factors are important, and obviously it is more valid to compare two staff teaching, say History to fifteen year old middle class girls, than a woodwork master in a ghetto school with either of them, but one cannot <u>assume</u> that the two History teachers are <u>in the same situation</u>, without a much deeper knowledge of what that situation is, gained by other kinds of observation.

other than between teachers of the same or closely related subjects, are difficult. However, this train of enquiry was not what I wanted most to do. I wanted to use the FIAC data for two other purposes.

First, I wanted to look at the way in which the same individual pupils behaved differently in different lessons - to see whether the girl who is strongly syllabus-bound is always the same in class, or whether a teacher with a high TRR tempts her to be less syllabus-bound; to see if some girls are chameleons, adapting their behaviour to suit the teacher's style, and others never vary, or are only affected by one type of teacher.

Second, I wanted to see if the data provided by Flanders, though designed for studying groups of teachers, actually produced interesting highlights on the individual teacher - to see whether it was possible to explain (not explain away) why a particular individual had a higher ratio for some behaviour than her subject colleagues. Very minute analyses of the FIAC matrices for a teacher can reveal exactly how a teacher teaches: one can see what sort of statements follow each other, which questions get answers, and which fade away into rhetorical enquiry and so on. To understand why a teacher behaves in that way (assuming that it is a conscious behaviour) and whether she is succeeding in what she is trying to achieve, needs additional data of different kinds - the sort of data I said in the introduction that Flanders and his collaborators never report collecting - such as the

physical setting of teachers' lessons, their staffroom concersations, their pupils' interpretations of their actions, and so on.

FIAC AND THE INDIVIDUAL TEACHER - AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS

The two teachers to be used in this example of the integration of systematic and unstructured data are the two English staff, Mrs Milton and Miss Keats. They have been chosen for this analysis primarily because they show interesting differences which are meaningfully illuminated via unstructured material: but also because they taught the whole sample a subject which was considered important, and they saw their classes every day, so a great deal of observation took place. Both were interested in my research and discussed their work with me, so the data are particularly rich.(3)

The FIAC data on these two mistresses revealed considerable differences between them. First, Table 7:1 showed that, during periods of classroom interaction, Miss Keats (English B) talked more than Mrs Milton

(3) In addition, the subject matter was very familiar to me, which aids observation, in as much as watching lessons in a subject which one knows little about is a difficult task, because one has to struggle towards cognitive understanding as well as studying the interpersonal nuances of the class.

(English A) did.[4] Miss Keats appeared in the rankings among the History, Geography and Science staff, while Mrs Milton figured among the linguists. In addition, Mrs Milton's lessons showed an unusually high percentage of pupil talk (26.9 per cent).

The various FIAC ratios calculated, also revealed differences between the two English staff. Mrs Milton was ranked third on the Teacher Response Ratio, while Miss Keats came 16th, showing that Mrs Milton accepted, praised and utilised a greater proportion of the pupil contributions she received. Perhaps surprisingly, in the light of the big difference on TRR, the two are not so far apart on the rank order of the Pupil Initiation Ratio, Mrs Milton coming 9th and Miss Keats 12th.[5]

Mrs Milton has a higher ratio of questioning to lecturing than Miss Keats, and again on this ranking appears with the linguists while Miss Keats is among the History and Geography staff.[6] Finally, the relative proportion of interaction time spent in content-oriented lecturing and questioning is also very different; Miss Keats having a much higher CCR than Mrs Milton.[7]

(4) Mrs Milton, 61.2%; Miss Keats, 78.1 per cent Teacher Talk.
(5) Why Miss Keats should receive a relatively large proportion of pupil initiated comments when she does not accept, praise or use very many of her pupils' contributions to the lesson, in contradiction of Flanders's general principle that a high TRR and a high PIR go together, is exactly the type of question raised by FIAC which only unstructured data of the sort presented here can answer.
(6) Mrs Milton is 5th, Miss Keats 14th.
(7) Miss Keats is 4th, Mrs Milton 18th.

These aspects of classroom behaviour, tapped by FIAC, might lead us to expect that these two teachers' English lessons were run on totally different lines. An analysis of their classes using the unstructured data shows why these differences occurred, and how they are related to each teacher's ideas and attitudes towards their third-year pupils. Four themes are used to illuminate these differences: the teachers' physical setting; their personal front; details of certain events that occurred in lessons observed; and the image they had created among the girls.

Two Themes from Goffman

The first two themes used derive from Goffman's (1959) work on self presentation. Goffman uses the metaphor of dramaturgical performance as a framework in which to analyse certain types of individual behaviour, and his analyses are particularly appropriate for discussing aspects of teacher-pupil interaction. Two ideas are especially useful, that of physical setting and personal front. The 'physical setting' is considered by Goffman to be an essential element in defining the situation in which a performance will take place, and is described as follows;

> 'First, there is the "setting", involving furniture, decor, physical layout, and other background items which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or

> upon it. Setting tends to stay put, geographically speaking, so that those who would use a particular setting as part of their performance cannot begin their act until they have brought themselves to the appropriate place and must terminate their performance when they leave it.' (p. 22)

Goffman goes on to relate setting to personal front as follows:

> 'If we take the term "setting" to refer to the scenic parts of expressive equipment, one may take the term "personal front" to refer to the other items of expressive equipment, the items that we most intimately identify with the performer himself and that we naturally expect will follow the performer wherever he goes. As part of the personal front we may include: insignia of office or rank; clothing; sex, age, and racial characteristics; size and looks; posture; speech patterns; facial expressions; bodily gestures; and the like.' (p. 24)[8]

Goffman's idea of a 'setting' is a particularly apt one for studying the staff of St Luke's, for all the established teachers[9] have their own rooms, to which all

(8) This classification of Goffman's includes several items, particularly gesture and posture, which linguists would classify as paralinguistic phenomena, (Lyons; 1972) while Goffman's use is more sociological. Both sets of researchers regard the phenomena as important elements in an individual's communications, which is enough justification for the points made here.

(9) "Established" in this context means all staff who are full or threequarters time and have been in the school for over a year. Teachers who taught half time or less, or were in their first year were not given rooms. Established teachers are also form-mistresses, newer ones are not.

their classes of girls come. This fixed physical setting for all their lessons allows them to create individual surroundings for themselves. In addition, such a setting serves the more mundane function of keeping all their equipment and textbooks to hand. Providing each established teacher with her own territory also has the effect of impressing new and part-time teachers with their marginal status, as they are forced to trek all over the large building with their pupils, instead of being installed in their own setting when each class arrives. In addition to putting new teachers at the disadvantage of having to carry all their equipment with them, they may be forced to teach in a room which is heavily impregnated with the persona of its absent occupant.(10)

This particular disability did not affect the two staff we are here concerned with, who both had their own rooms, but the usefulness of the general idea of a personally created physical setting highlighting important differences in personal style is indicated by brief descriptions of their rooms. Both English teachers were from-mistresses, and their rooms reflected this, though in rather different ways.

Mrs Milton's room had been formed by slicing large alcoves off two adjoining classrooms and creating a room from them. It was small, cramped with twenty

(10) One particular example of the problems associated with being marginal in this sense is given in a paper (Delamont; 1972a).

desks in it (most rooms held 30-35 with ease) and was always slightly stuffy, as there were only two tiny windows high in the wall. The room was painted pastel yellow, but lacked any of the usual cork-board for notices - a deficiency for which her resident class of girls had compensated by pinning photographs all over the walls from floor to ceiling. These photographs reflected the preoccupations of the twelve-year-olds who had chosen them; footballers, pop stars, and fashion designs. Mrs Milton's contributions to the decor, three framed reproductions and an op-art calendar, hung amidst the photographs.

Miss Keats's resident form were younger, about ten, and her room, which was of standard size and had proper noticeboards, was decorated with their paintings; big, splodgy, brightly coloured animals in poster paint on sugar paper. The display boards carried articles from the Sunday Colour supplements, on various authors and poets, and on the then current strike by Californian grape pickers.(11)

These two rooms give us some ideas about the differences between Mrs Milton and Miss Keats. First, Miss Keats has a room of standard size, while Mrs Milton has an 'extra' room, which is obviously inferior. This

(11) The syllabuses for the SCE exams in English do not include 'set books' for close textual study - instead the teacher is free to read what she likes with her classes. Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath is a common choice, and hence the interest in grape picking in modern California.

fits with Miss Keats's superior status, as head of department, and her longer service. (Ten years to Mrs Milton's two.)[12] Secondly, Mrs Milton's room has nothing relating to her subject displayed in it, while Miss Keats had carefully preserved relevant newspapers. Both teachers had, however, allowed the resident girls to contribute to the decor, something not apparent in some other staff's rooms. (See article on Miss Iliad; Delamont; 1972a.) These ideas about the two English staff can be further extended by considering the second theme, their 'personal fronts'.

Several of the characteristics listed by Goffman as integral parts of the personal front are clearly not relevant here; all the teachers at St Luke's are of the same sex and race, and no insignia of office were worn.[13] The characteristics of teachers that were significant - at least for the girls - were age, marital status, speech patterns, posture and gesture, and - most particularly - clothing. As St Luke's had a uniform, the clothes-consciousness of the adolescent girls was focused onto the staffs' dress and personal appearance.

Mrs Milton was slim, tall for a woman, and she dressed in clothes which, though not exactly fashionable,

(12) Unlike many schools described in the literature, at St Luke's older and more experienced staff do not monopolise top sets and 'good' classes. Rather, in all subjects, the teacher who had the 'A' set in the second year would take the 'B' or 'C' set in the third year and vice versa. Similarly, sixth-form teaching was shared among the qualified staff and not the prerogative of the senior mistresses.

(13) Only Mrs Michaels, the head, ever wore a gown.

were brightly coloured, and could have been worn by her pupils. She was in her twenties, and was so quietly spoken that the class had to be entirely silent to catch what she said - which they always were.(14) Mrs Milton sat at her desk in the front of the room while she read or talked, standing only to write on the board. During silent seat-work she walked round the room talking several times to each girl, before returning to her desk to read or mark books. Her set did a large amount of written work, both at home and in class, as well as being expected to read their set texts, but Mrs Milton did not test them on this work at any point during my fieldwork. She always used her Friday lesson, the final period of the afternoon, to read aloud to the class from authors she thought they might like to try for themselves; explaining to me that as neither she nor the girls had any 'creative energy' left by Friday afternoon, it was 'a good chance to read' to them. The overall atmosphere created was one of attentiveness, the girls listening to her, yet eager to participate, and listen to each other. Hers was one of the few classes in which discussion took place between girls without using the teacher as an intermediary.

If Mrs Milton was quiet and restrained, Miss Keats was louder and more forceful. Her lessons were noisier

(14) This may have been a deliberate strategy, or an unconscious one. It meant that her lessons were carried on at a quiet pitch, with neither her voice, nor the pupils', raised.

and faster moving, and she moved up and down the room and gesticulated during discussions, as well as sitting at her desk. Miss Keats herself was in her thirties, and was without a formal teaching qualification, having come into the profession straight from university. She wore simple jerseys and skirts for everyday teaching, changing into dresses for after school clubs and meetings. In general her clothes, make-up and hair styles were closer to what the girls' mothers would wear than anything they would themselves have chosen.

These two teachers, then, have rather different personal styles, in that Mrs Milton is fashionably dressed, softly spoken and rarely moves around, while Miss Keats is older, in the girls' eyes unfashionably dressed, and has a louder voice and more noticeable movements and gestures. Goffman's general proposition; that personal front and personal setting are important aspects of performance; is fruitful. These two features do distinguish the teachers. The next section relates them to actual events recorded in field-notes.

The Third Theme: Classroom Events

The third theme, extracts from my field-notes taken in lessons, shows how their lessons typically varied,

and brings us back to the systematic data.[15] The first extract is taken from notes on a lesson of Mrs Milton's, in which the girls were discussing Pride and Prejudice, a popular novel by one of their favourite authors.[16]

Extract 1 - Mrs Milton's English Set 1/Tu/2

(This lesson opened with Mrs Milton saying it was time the group discussed Pride and Prejudice, as the girls had now read several chapters for homework which had not been discussed in class. The next ten minutes included a coverage of the basic events in those chapters, with Mrs Milton asking questions, and using volunteered answers from the class. Once Mr Collins' marriage, and Elizabeth Bennet's visit to him and Charlotte has been covered, Mrs Milton turned to Elizabeth's discovery of Darcy's part in separating Jane Bennet and Mr Bingley.)

(15) The reader will be able to see immediately that these extracts are drawn from field-notes rather than tape-recordings. This means that they are superficially more fluent than transcripts would be, because it was only possible to keep up with the action by ignoring all the false starts and other hesitation phenomena. It also meant that while pupils' contributions were recorded verbatim, only the sense of the teacher's remarks could be. This was a conscious decision on my part. The main focus of the study was individual pupils and their classroom contributions.

However, the extracts are sufficiently fully documented to provide a working record of the classroom discourse - adequate for the present purpose - to give the reader the 'feel' of a particular classroom.

(16) In the questionnaire on leisure reading (see Appendix 3), whose results are discussed in Appendix 2, Jane Austen was the second most popular author. (After Agatha Christie)

Mrs Milton. (Asks why they think Darcy had done it. Selina, whose hand is one of several raised, is called on.)

Selina: I think it's just snobbery - because the Bennets aren't good enough for his friend.

Charmian: (Speaks without raising her hand or being asked to do so.) I think it was more...ummmm... because of Lydia's awful behaviour - and the way Mrs Bennet kept gossiping out loud all the time.

Mrs Milton. (Takes both these as reasonable opinions, and asks what Elizabeth Bennet thought was the reason.) Penny's hand is one of several up, and she is called on.)

Penny: She thought it was because of the poor relations - at least in trade - and their uncle was only an attorney.

Mrs Milton: (Accepts that Elizabeth blamed their connections rather than their position, and expands on Penny's answer. Then asks if it could have been some fault in Jane Bennet as a person. Karen's hand is among those up, and she is called on.)

Karen: No - she says it couldn't be.

Mrs Milton: (Agrees with this, and expands on it. Asks if anyone can find an actual quotation in the book. No-one's hand is forthcoming, and she reads out "To Jane herself there could be no possibility of objection".)

(The lesson went on in this manner, with mixed coverage of factual events from the book, and invitations for the girls to express their opinions of them, for another ten minutes or so. They reach Darcy's proposal to Elizabeth Bennet. Mrs Milton asks for their reactions to it. Selina's hand is one of the first to go up, and she is called on.)

Selina: I wasn't surprised ... because it kept saying he was getting fond of her. But I didn't think he'd actually want to marry her.

Penny: (Without raising her hand or being asked) It's a horrid proposal - and he's so sure she'll be grateful to accept.

Henrietta: (Also unasked.) Yes (emphatically agreeing with Penny). It's really insulting.

Charmian: (Also unasked.) Mmmmmm...he's jolly rude to her.

Mrs Milton: (Accepts all these as reasonable opinions, expands on them, and asks for any quotation which struck them as particularly insulting or arrogant. The class is silent for a few minutes while they search. Michelle's hand is one of the first up. She is called on.)

Michelle: (reads) "Can you expect me to rejoice in the inferiority of your connections?"

Evelyn: (Speaks aloud without invitation.) I think it's just that he's shy.

Karen: (Turns to Evelyn and answers her.) Oh no - he's a snob.

Barbara: (Joins in.) He's too selfish to think about her feelings.

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This extract can usefully be compared with the following one, taken from field-notes written in a lesson of Miss Keats's on A Tale of Two Cities. This lesson was intended to fulfill a similar function as the one shown above, in that the girls had read several chapters of the novel at home, and were now to discuss them in public, to check comprehension of the facts and reactions to them.

Miss Keats: (Asks whole class what Jerry Cruncher and his colleagues are doing in Chapter 14. Several hands go up, and Esther is called on.)

Esther: Are they going out to rob a grave?

Miss Keats: (Accepts this answer, and asks what Cruncher calls his "profession". Several hands again, and this time Miss Keats calls on Belinda.)

Belinda: Resurrection Men?

Miss Keats: (Accepts this, asks if anyone knows why people should have wanted to rob graves. Fewer hands this time, Miss Keats asks Wendy.)

Wendy: Was it because they could sell bodies?

Miss Keats: (Accepts this and asks who bought the bodies. Several hands again, asks Zoe.)

Zoe: Was it doctors - in hospitals?

Miss Keats: (Accepts this, but asks why the doctors wanted corpses. Several hands again, and she asks Fleur.)

Fleur: Did they need them to learn anatomy on?

Miss Keats: (Says "yes" but asks why they needed so many. One or two hands, she asks Nancy.)

Nancy: Because they didn't have fridges?

Miss Keats: (Accepts that, and elaborates on it - explaining about the legal position over leaving bodies to science throughout history, then goes on to ask who knows of the famous case involving body snatching which occurred in Edinburgh.)

(There is a pause before anyone's hand goes up - finally Philippa raises hers tentatively and is called on.)

Philippa: Deacon Brodie?

Miss Keats: No, you're thinking of Jekyll and Hyde - Mary?

Mary: Burke and Hare.

Miss Keats: (Accepts the answer, but reprimands Mary for not having her hair tied back off her face. Asks for an account of the story of Burke and Hare. After a pause, Vanessa's hand goes up and she is called on.)

Vanessa: They got caught because they murdered people.

Miss Keats: (Accepts this, but asks for an expansion.)

Vanessa: (Expands on her previous answer, adding that they took to murder because it was easier than waiting for funerals and then digging up the bodies.)

Miss Keats: (Accepts this, and is about to expand on it when she sees Zoe's hand is up, and acknowledges it.)

Zoe: (Bursts out with a muddled anecdote about a murder which took place in one of the watchtowers used to guard new graves in the old Edinburgh cemetries.)

Miss Keats: (While not actually ignoring this, she glides over it, and returns to her main theme, which is to ask their opinions of where the moral responsibility for grave robbing lay.)

Gale: (Speaks without putting her hand up.) I think the doctors were responsible.

Sharon: (ditto) What stopped it?

Lorna: (ditto) Did the doctors know the corpses were stolen?

Miss Keats: (Stops the calling out, answers Lorna, accepts Gale's opinion, and hands out copies of two plays by modern authors on the subject of grave robbing and moral responsibility. As the bell goes she is moving back to the novel.

****

These extracts do have considerable similarities. Both teachers are trying to start discussion among the pupils about novels they have been reading, to check that the facts have been grasped clearly, and to examine their

implications. The emphasis in both is on using the facts as a basis for discussion about interpersonal behaviour, morality and affective meanings. In this they differ from the three arts teachers described by Barnes (1969) who 'were teaching as though their tasks were more concerned with information than thought'. (p. 22)(17) The two teachers here are concerned that the girls should know what is happening in the plots of the novels, but its interpretation is also regarded as important.(18)

There are, however, also considerable differences evident from the two extracts. First, the actual patterns discourse are different - in the second extract Miss Keats and the pupils speak alternately most of the time, while in the first there are several pupil comments together between Mrs Milton's contributions. This difference in pattern is enough to explain the vast difference in the gross percentage of pupil talk between the two classes, as shown in Table 7:1.

Chapter 7 showed that Mrs Milton spent less interaction time in content-oriented speech than Miss Keats, and these two extracts show why this was so - Mrs Milton's comments are frequently using the pupils' ideas and feelings,

(17) See the figures for teacher question types given in Barnes (1969).
(18) Lest anyone should doubt the importance of establishing some facts about the literature being read, in one school I visited, girls' essays on Hamlet showed so slight a grasp of events in the play they thought Gertrude was Ophelia and vice versa. Their interpretations of the motives of these characters was, in consequence, a little unlikely.

while Miss Keats returned more quickly to a lecturing mode, or asked a further question, instead of elaborating on the previous answer. This difference satisfactorily accounts for Mrs Milton's higher Teacher Response Ratio.

The explanations of the two mistresses' relative placings on the other FIAC ratios is more problematic. The two teachers were fairly close together in the rankings for the Pupil Initiation Ratio; a circumstance at variance with their different TRR placings, and different Teacher Question Ratios. The extracts do begin to clarify the nature of these differences. Both teachers receive 'initiations' which they 'want'; but Miss Keats also gets several, like Zoe's anecdote, which she does not want and 'glides over'. Hence the differing proportions of acceptance shown in the TRR rankings.

The final area of difference, the proportion of questioning to lecturing, cannot be seen from the extracts because they contain only verbatim records of pupil talk. It is, however, not implausible to say that Miss Keats talked more in all categories, and had a greater proportion of her speech in the 'content-cross'. She relied on a greater 'lecturing' component with her classes - engaging them in dialogue or oral drill less than Mrs Milton.

In summary, these extracts do begin to show why the FIAC data took the form they did, but they raise more questions than they resolve. Two questions in particular are intriguing - firstly the image of themselves and their

subject which their mode of conducting lessons and presenting themselves had created among the girls (the fourth theme); and secondly the crucial question of how far the classroom interaction, crystallized by FIAC, and exemplified by the extracts, are, as Flanders has assumed, due to the teachers' influence upon the pupils, and how far they are due to the girls in the classes imposing themselves on the teachers.

The next section of this chapter discusses briefly how the girls viewed these two English staff, and the subject they taught. It also outlines the argument that these attitudes, and the pupils' behaviour in the light of their beliefs, themselves affect the teachers' styles.

Pupil Perceptions and the Hidden Curriculum in English(19)

During my interviews with the girls I asked each one to describe all the staff who taught her "as teachers and as people", when presented with their names in triads.(20)

(19) There are at least two distinct uses of the phrase the 'Hidden Curriculum' current in educational writing at the moment, one implying a middle-class protestant ethic which is held to be implicit in all modern schools (Illich); the other meaning is gentler, and merely covers all the aspects of any given educational environment which a student must master to succeed, at the level of knowing which assignments can be "forgotten", and which rules can be bent. Here I am using it in this second sense following Snyder (1971) - see Chapter 10.

(20) The procedure followed roughly that of the researcher using Kelly's Rep Grid technique; see Bannister and Fransella (1971); Nash (1972); and Chapter 5 above.

This method produced descriptions of all the various staff who taught my sample, consisting in the main of short words and phrases. Every single girl in Mrs Milton's English set told me that she was a 'good' or a 'very good teacher', and she received one accolade as 'the best teacher in the school'. She was variously described as 'young', 'very patient', 'informal', 'doesn't need to be strict', 'understanding', 'tries to see our views', 'encouraging' and 'treats us as adults'. The nearest thing to a negative comment I was given was that it was 'rather cynical' to be 'always looking for ulterior motives in literature'. Some comments from specific girls follow:

Evelyn: 'She's prepared to see you a bit more as human beings - and takes an interest.'

Barbara: 'She doesn't treat you as little kiddies.'

Angela: 'She's very patient, and she tries her best to make the lessons as interesting as possible...'

Selina: 'She takes an artistic attitude to things and she's lively.'

The girls in Miss Keats' group had a less clearly defined image of her, as a teacher and as a person. The majority of the comments were negative in general tone, but the actual descriptions varied. Miss Keats was commonly held to be 'strict' and to 'have a bad temper'; only three girls said that they liked her personally, and

they, like their classmates, described her as 'unpopular with the form'. Several girls said she 'expects too high a standard from us'. Most girls told me that Miss Keats was 'keen on acting' and those girls who liked her, or said they 'didn't mind' her, were also those who were most involved in drama themselves.(21)

Interestingly, in the light of the general mixed perceptions, the largest differences came when describing whether Miss Keats was a 'good' teacher or not, and whether she 'went off the point' - two key factors in any description of a member of staff. The set were about equally divided between those who told me that Miss Keats was a 'good', or a 'reasonable' teacher, who explained things well and 'got her subject across', and those who said the opposite. They were similarly divided between those who said that she regularly went off the point and those who said she stuck rigidly to the syllabus. This suggests that there was a difference of opinion in the set about what exactly was 'the point' in English - that is what the limits of relevance were.

There was one particular example of the rather limited concept these girls had of what was relevant to English - the inclusion of discussions about interpersonal relationships, particularly those between the sexes. Such discussion was definitely not considered 'relevant'

(21) By 'involved in drama' I mean all those who belonged to the school drama club, the local theatre workshop, and/or wanted to teach drama or act themselves - six girls all told.

to English by the girls in the 'B' set. They obviously disliked, and resisted, any attempts on Miss Keats behalf to move from discussion of literature to more personal matters.(22) This resistance is one of the clearest examples I discovered of a general phenomenon - the extent to which the personal characteristics of the teacher, and her attitude to her class, become intermingled with how the pupils define the subject taught.

Two factors contributed to the 'B' set's reluctance to discuss interpersonal relations in class with Miss Keats - one a general point which has been noted by other authors, the other specifically related to classroom behaviour on the part of the teacher. Claire Rayner (1966) has discussed the general point - the unwillingness of adolescent girls to discuss personal relationships, particularly sexual ones, with unmarried women. (She quotes a girl saying: 'I can't be doing with those lessons they give us at school - the Biology teacher is a Miss, so how can she know what she's talking about? And if she does, she shouldn't.') Miss Keats was unmarried

(22) This resistance on the part of the pupils to being drawn in to any discussion of interpersonal relationships is shown most vividly by a lesson on Twelfth Night, part of which is presented in Appendix 6. Miss Keats wanted to discuss how the play could be staged - in particular how a producer could cope with providing 'identical twins' of different sexes. This involved mention of secondary sexual characteristics and puberty, which resulted in the class collapsing into embarrassed giggles. Miss Keats said afterwards that she found the 'calvinist',puritanical nature of the Scots, which inhibited them from mentioning emotions, a handicap in her teaching.

and in her thirties, too old to be 'one of them', yet not married and so unable to be a 'mother' to them. This, it is clear from interview comments, was one reason for the girls' unwillingness to talk about the topics Miss Keats wanted them to.

The second point was more specifically related to classroom behaviour. As the extract given above shows, Miss Keats was one of the staff members who enforced the school rules about hair and uniform. She regularly told the girls to tie back their hair, or wear correct shoes, and she emphasised deportment - girls were told to sit up straight and stop slouching. This strategy, bringing the formal school rules into the classroom, meant that the 'atmosphere' in the 'B' group was perhaps less conducive to confidences. The girls saw that Miss Keats enforced the rules, and teachers who enforce the rules are not the ones you confide in. This was particularly true of the girls in Clique 2, of whom the majority were in Miss Keats's group for English. They knew that certain staff disapproved of their leisure activities, including Miss Keats, and so they were unlikely to want to discuss them in those classes. In addition, as the anecdote Vanessa told me about Mrs French and the dance tickets shows, they regarded their private lives as private, and therefore no concern of the school's. Vanessa's comment ('It was nothing to do with my French, but she told me off in French') indicates a clear boundary between academic and personal concerns, which a teacher both unmarried and strict about

rules is unlikely to be able to break down.

Finally in this section I want to return to the issues raised by the experiment conducted by Klein (1971), discussed in Chapter 6. This experiment, which suggested that the behaviour of the pupils can affect the 'style' of the teacher in a direct, causal fashion, is relevant to the analysis of these two teachers. It is clear from the two extracts given above - and from those reproduced in Appendix 6, that Mrs Milton has more 'success' with the 'A' set than Miss Keats does with the 'B' group. A 'hard-line' interaction analyst would claim that Miss Keats's teaching is too directive, and if she were to change her style, her lessons would flow more smoothly, and she would obtain the results she wanted. However, I feel this is too simplistic to be true. There are other factors which affect how the teacher teaches, and the situation is not one of a single cause producing a single effect, but one of multiple causalities.

Just as it is clear that Mrs Milton's lessons flow more smoothly along the tracks she planned for them, so it is true that her class were initially more favourably inclined towards the subject. Table 8:1 shows the material on attitudes to English, abstracted from Chapter 5.

This table shows clearly that more girls in Mrs. Milton's set mentioned English as their favourite subject, and that none wanted to drop it. In one way this is what one would predict - the top set in a subject

might be expected to like it better than the lower set. Six girls from Miss Keats's set told me during their interviews that they disliked English - but all added that they knew it to be an important subject which 'had to be done'. Louise told me that she disliked English because 'it's just reading plays and boring books' and Tessa that she did not 'see the point of English... at my last school I did better at English - more sort of grammar'.

TABLE 8:1

Mentions of English by
English Set Membership

English mentioned as:	A Set (n=21)	B set (n=22)
Easiest	2	3
Hardest	1	2
Favourite	6	1
Best Marks	4	3
'Like to drop'	None	2

These attitudes are, in part, a result of the teaching the two sets had received from Mrs Milton and Miss Keats. However, each set had previously been taught by the other member of staff, and all the girls had experienced at least one other English teacher as well, so it is not the case that their experience of English and their behaviour with one teacher were totally confounded. We can say that Miss Keats had not made her set love English, but also that she was faced with a class

who were not especially well-disposed towards her subject before she began.

In summary, then, we have seen that the variations in FIAC ratios between these two teachers are based on real differences in their classroom styles, and are related to differences in their physical settings, self-presentations, and in the images of themselves and their subject which they had given their pupils. In the following chapter the reverse side of teacher-pupil interaction is seen - the emphasis being switched to the pupils' speech, and its relation to their ideas.

CHAPTER 9

FOUR GIRLS

Profiles of Four Girls, Integrating Systematic and Unstructured Data

> 'Orson's buzz of unease circled and settled on his room-mate, who, it was clear, had thought earnestly about profound matters that Orson, busy as he had been with the practical business of being a good student, had hardly considered.'
>
> (Updike, 1970. p. 111)

Introduction

This chapter parallels the previous one, in which analyses of two teachers were presented, incorporating systematic and unstructured data. Here profiles of four girls are presented, with the results obtained from coding their classroom speech related to material collected by means of interview, questionnaires and unstructured observation.

From Group to Individual

In this chapter systematic observation data on individual girls are related to the other materials collected. As it is impossible to do this for every girl in a sample of over forty, eight have been chosen. These eight have scores on the sylb/sylf inventory such that they constitute test cases of whether the hypotheses (about the associations between study habits and classroom contributions) which proved to be statistically 'true' for the sample as a whole, also 'work' at the individual level.

These eight girls are discussed at some length, using common themes, as well as individual comments and statements they made. Two conscientious sylbs and two non-conscientious sylfs are analysed in this chapter; and profiles of the other four girls chosen are given in Appendix 5. Where appropriate, the profiles are linked by theoretical discussion, or the recapitulation of important points outlined in earlier chapters. The main themes which are used in these profiles are drawn from the three research traditions discussed in the Introduction: 'paper and pencil' measures, systematic and unstructured observation. For instance, the scores which each girl received on the various tests and questionnaires she completed are related to the systematic data on classroom speech; to observations drawn from field-notes; and to material from the interviews on such

topics as friendship groups and attitudes to subjects taken.(1) Thus the threads from the earlier chapters are drawn together to produce well-rounded profiles of the eight girls chosen.

Selection of Eight Individuals

Three criteria were used to choose the eight girls as subjects of individual profiles. Firstly, syllabus-bound and syllabus-free girls were needed, and, these should be both conscientious and non-conscientious.(2) In addition, girls experiencing academic success needed to be contrasted with others who were less successful in their school work. Accordingly, the following eight girls were selected: a successful non-conscientious sylf (Michelle) and her unsuccessful counterpart (Nancy); plus a successful and an unsuccessful sylb (Jackie and Yvonne), who are all covered in detail here. In addition, a successful and an unsuccessful intermediate on both

(1) During the research period each girl completed the following tests, questionnaires, and inventories: An initial questionnaire of personal information, the sylb/sylf inventory, the EPI, a divergent reasoning test, a leisure reading questionnaire, a questionnaire posing two dilemmas with syllabus-bound and syllabus-free solutions, and after their exams that summer, an inventory of their satisfaction with their results. (See Appendix 3 for all 'paper and pencil' measures.)
Not all these sources are used in each profile - I have selected data as they appeared interesting, pertinent, or illuminating.

(2) Chapter 2 discussed the relationship between being syllabus-bound or free and being conscientious in detail. Briefly, among British pupils, sylbs are significantly more likely to be conscientious and sylfs not to be.

criteria and two representatives of the minority groups, one of the only two conscientious sylfs (Janice), and the only non-conscientious sylb (Deborah), are analysed in Appendix 5.(3)

The systematic data for these eight girls are given first, so they can be compared on the basis of their speech patterns. Then follow the four profiles, which are more discursive in form.

Comparison of Classroom Speech Patterns

Table 9:1 shows the eight girls categorised on the three criteria outlined above, with their mean number of moves in all categories (expressed as usual as the mean per ten lessons), and the criterion group in which this placed them relative to the rest of their year. This followed immediately by Table 9:2, which shows the same girls' mean numbers of moves in the three sub-categories: content-oriented, independent and dependent: and the criterion groups into which these scores placed each girl.

(3) All the girls in the sample were located in a 3 x 3 contingency table, according to their scores on the sylb/sylf scale and the conscientiousness scale. Individual girls were then chosen from the appropriate cells with a pin. (As I wanted one successful and one unsuccessful girl from the main cells, I went on 'picking' until I had obtained one of each from the conscientious sylbs, non-conscientious sylfs, and the intermediates.)

TABLE 9:1

Classification and Speech Patterns of eight girls

Academic success	Conscien-tiousness	Sylb/ Sylf	Name	Mean No. Total moves (in ten lessons)	Criterion Group (1)
High	Non-C	SF	Michelle	30.9	5
Low	Non-C	SF	Nancy	6.9	1
Low	Consci.	SF	Janice	16.3	4
High	Consci.	SB	Jackie	18.4	4
Low	Consci.	SB	Yvonne	17.1	4
High	Non-C	SB	Deborah	9.3	2
High	Inter.	Inter.	Charmian	14.4	4
Low	Inter.	Inter.	Geraldine	4.0	1

(1) In every case the labels of the criterion groups are as follows: 1 = very low, 2 = low, 3 = medium, 4 = high and 5 = very high.

TABLE 9:2

Sub-Categories of Pupil Talk

Classification	Name	Content-Oriented	Criterion Group(1)	Indep.	Criterion Group	Depend.	Criterion Group(1)
S.NC.SF	Michelle	12.0	4	17.0	5	1.6	4
UnS.NC.SF.	Nancy	4.1	1	1.5	3	1.2	3
UnS.C.SF	Janice	8.9	3	4.7	4	2.6	5
S.C.SB	Jackie	13.0	4	0.7	2	4.0	5
UnS.C.SB	Yvonne	7.1	3	0.0	1	10.0	5
S.NC.SB	Deborah	8.6	3	0.6	1	0.0	1
S.Inter.	Charmian	6.3	2	7.9	5	0.2	1
UnS.Inter.	Geraldine	3.7	1	0.0	1	0.3	1

(1) In every case the labels of the criterion groups are as follows: 1 = very low, 2 = low, 3 = medium, 4 = high and 5 = very high.

It is clear from an examination of these two tables that the most consistent discriminator between the syllabus-bound and free girls is, at the individual level, the mean number of independent moves tallied. Sylfs make more independent contribution than sylbs do, among these eight girls chosen for other reasons, just as they were found to do among the group as a whole. It is also noticeable that the three conscientious girls, Janice, Jackie and Yvonne, are all in the top criterion group for dependent moves, but are not noticeably different from the other five girls on the number of content-oriented moves tallied.(4) However, there is an overall tendency for the data on speech patterns among these eight girls to bear out the data on speech patterns among the whole sample.

With these general facts about the eight girls' classroom contributions in mind, their individual characteristics can be discussed. The four profiles which follow have been organised round themes, as the depth analysis of the two teachers was, but here the themes are more numerous and drawn from 'paper and pencil' measures as well as unstructured observation. These

(4) This does not support the conclusion of the section on correlations between work styles and pupil speech, in that, for the whole sample, there was a significant correlation between being conscientious and making a large number of content-oriented moves, and, though there was a tendency for conscientious girls to make a high number of dependent moves also, this was not significant.

themes have been discussed in earlier chapters - they include the girl's friendship group and how it strengthens or weakens her work-style; how her home background relates to her school work; how she sees her compulsory and optional curriculum in its own right, and in relation to what she plans to do when she leaves.

It would make the profiles interminable if every aspect of each girl were to be covered. Instead, I have opted for emphasising aspects of the girls' lives I felt to be interesting or unusual, and for concentrating upon aspects of their classroom speech patterns which I felt looked anomalous. Thus Jackie makes very few independent moves, so her profile examines the situations in which they occur. Relating group data to individuals is notoriously difficult - in this chapter I have tried to use them as they appear pertinent to the individual, and to refer the individual to her contemporaries.

The first profile is of Jackie, a successful, conscientious sylb.

PROFILE 1 - JACKIE

Jackie is one of six girls in my sample who is both highly conscientious and highly syllabus-bound.

She was a boarder at St Luke's[5] and academically successful; she was in the top set for all her subjects except French, and when she opted for a science 'O' grade course was allowed to take Physics.[6] She had chosen to carry on with Latin rather than Biology, but the reasons she gave for this, and indeed for opting for sciences rather than a modern or classical language, are unemphatic: 'I didn't like the idea of learning a new language'. 'Why did you decide to carry on with Latin?' 'I didn't really like Biology'. (Low-key responses could be seen as more typical of sylbs, who are prepared to study whatever they are told to by the school, and so describe their choices in a less emotive way than girls who have strong preferences for some subjects over others.)[7]

Jackie had been at St Luke's since she was eleven, and before that she had travelled round the world with her service family, attending a variety of schools. Her

(5) The boarders, as a group, were very conscientious. If the mean score on the conscientiousness scale is calculated for each clique, the boarders have the second highest (that is, most conscientious) mean (Clique 3 has the highest) at 5.4 compared with a score for the whole sample of 4.92.

(6) Chapter 5 discussed subject choice, and the ways in which the school and parents influenced or constrained the girls' choices. St Luke's regarded Physics as difficult and only allowed girls who were good at Maths to take it.

(7) Compare Barbara: 'Because I hated Science', or Clare: 'Well I'm hopeless at Languages', the reasons given by Michelle later in this section on profiles, and those quoted in Chapter 5.

father's job had various consequences for Jackie's school life; in particular, she told me she had 'discovered' (and decided upon) dentistry as a career through reading the literature on different occupations which her father had, as part of his work as a careers and recruitment officer in the Army. Jackie's leisure reading questionnaire also reflected her service background: she estimated the amount she read for pleasure as 'considerably more than the rest of the form',(8) and though her choice of books and authors is wide, but not unusual, she added 'War stories and anything to do with the war', a unique, but, given her family, not an inexplicable addition.(9)

The Popular Pupil

The rest of the St Luke's sample saw Jackie as a girl who is popular with the staff,(10) which is consistent with her classification via the inventory as a conscientious sylb.(11) Apart from her study-habits,

(8) Again, the high estimate of the amount of leisure reading is usual for a boarder. Chapter 4 showed how the boarders, Clique 1, had, as a group, the second highest mean (2.6) on this criterion.
(9) Jackie's newspaper reading - 'The Daily Telegraph' - which is very unusual in a sample who mostly mention 'The Scotsman' or 'The Times' could also be related to her home background - cf. the section on intelligentsia versus bourgeoisie in Chapter 4. Jackie's choice of books is also unusual in that she did not claim to read Romantic Novels, the most popular type for the sample as a whole (25 votes, n = 36).
(10) Jackie was mentioned 8 times as popular, and not at all as unpopular.
(11) See Chapter 5.

Jackie had other features, in her classroom presentation and behaviour, which can be seen as commending her to teachers in the eyes of her form-mates.(12)

My initial fieldwork period involved getting to know each girl, and the first stage of this was to identify each individual and tie her to her name in my mind. To help in this I wrote down brief descriptions of each girl's personal appearance and demeanour as I worked out who she was. My notes on Jackie read: 'Small, Blonde hair, long but always in the statutory bunches or pony tail. Good at games, quiet in class, wears her overall in the lab!'

These notes need to be seen in the context of St Luke's as a social system. Chapter 3 discussed the problems of institutional control for girls' schools in general, and St Luke's in particular. The relatively relaxed system which prevailed at St Luke's was discussed, and related to such factors as the social class nature of the intake, the mixed ages and marital statuses of the staff, and the highly academic nature of the institution. That there <u>were</u> some rules about dress and personal appearance, (which Jackie is conspicuous by keeping) is clear from

(12) The girls' perceptions of which pupils were and were not popular, either with one particular teacher, or with the staff as a whole, varied considerably in their 'accuracy'. I have treated them as valid <u>pupil perceptions</u> for most of this thesis, but it is worth noting here that in Jackie's case the majority feeling was accurate - there was general agreement in the staffroom that Jackie was bright, pleasant, and a 'good' pupil. I recorded no unfavourable comments about her from staff.

the nature of my notes. Girls' hair could be any length, but long hair must be tied back in lessons - and Jackie's hair was always tied back. Overalls should be worn in the science labs, but hardly ever were - yet Jackie wore hers almost every lesson. (All the girls who wore overalls were sylbs or intermediates - no science specialist sylf ever wore an overall.) Being small, and not clumsy, is also a useful quality for pupils - they fit into the desks and do not trip over things. In addition Jackie was efficient - another boarder, Esther, described how Jackie and Alexandra 'are efficient - at least more efficient than me - they have the right books, and get to things at the right time and hand things in at the right time'.

Jackie is seen as a 'good' pupil by her contemporaries and by the staff, and the preceding paragraphs have shown some of the contributory reasons. How does her classroom speech relate to this? Tables 9:1 and 9:2 show Jackie's contribution patterns compared with those of the other girls we are considering. An examination of the nature and distribution of these speech moves; together with our knowledge of the 'rules' governing classroom language; gives an interesting picture of the classroom actions of an 'ideal' pupil.

Table 9:1 shows that Jackie makes an average of 18.4 moves per ten lessons in all categories, a high mean score which classified her into the fourth quintile

of the distribution for the whole St Luke's sample. Table 9:2 shows how the figure of 18.4 is made up of contributions in the three sub-categories. Column 3 of that table shows that Jackie makes an average of 13.0 content-oriented moves in ten lessons, which again puts her into the fourth quintile for the sample. In contrast Column 5 shows that she makes an average of only 0.7 independent moves in ten lessons which is a below average score, classifying her into the second quintile. Finally Column 7 reveals Jackie's mean number of dependent moves in ten lessons, 4.0, which is a very high score, placing her into the top quintile for the sub-category of contributions.

Jackie therefore has an above average mean score for her total, as well as for her content-oriented contributions; a very high mean score for dependent moves; and a below average mean score for independent moves. These facts about Jackie's classroom speech are for all her subjects taken together. This is, of course, not an entirely satisfactory basis for studying her behaviour, for her speech pattern varies in different subjects, with different teachers. Later in this profile, Jackie's actions in her various subjects are discussed, but first, her overall speech pattern can be usefully related to what we already know of her, and to the implicit 'rules' of pupil discourse as established in Chapters 5 and 7.

The final section of chapter 5 outlined the girls' perceptions of good and bad classroom behaviour. Many of the characteristics mentioned were explicitly concerned with speech behaviour. ('Answering in class' and 'Don't answer back', for example.) In addition, many of the 'bad behaviours' included speech acts which my coding system would classify as independent moves.(13) During the interviews only two girls mentioned types of speech which I could be sure would be classified as dependent, and both suggested that they were 'good' behaviour.(14)

This summary of the girls' perception of what a good pupil does gives us some insight into Jackie's speech patterns. Good pupils answer teachers' questions and do not argue, answer back or make 'miscellaneous remarks' - Jackie has an above average 'score' for content-oriented moves and a very low one for independent contributions. This much is straightforward. The high mean number of dependent moves is, in some ways, more problematic. On one hand, syllabus-bound students might be expected to seek teacher guidance most frequently, and though this is true of the two sylbs, Jackie and

(13) I am not trying to say here that all independent speech acts are considered 'bad'; this is clearly not so, - for instance, a teacher may well ask for independent contributions ('Well what do you think of that?'). It is true, however, that many acts I classified as independent would fall within the pupils' description of 'miscellaneous remarks' or 'answering back'.
(14) One of the two is quoted in Chapter 5: Karen's reply that the good pupil...asks 'sensible questions'.

Yvonne, considered here, it was not true for the sample as a whole. (See Chapter 7.) On the other hand, some sylfs have a high score for dependent moves, and the existence of a high 'dependence' score is not necessarily related to being syllabus-bound.(15) However, as Jackie's contribution pattern here is compatible with her work-style, further discussion of this point has been left until the later profiles.

Speech Behaviour in Different Subjects

The more detailed breakdown of Jackie's contribution pattern by different subjects, which follows; together with extracts from my field-notes taken in lessons; gives more depth to the study of her classroom behaviour. Table 9:3 shows Jackie's mean number of moves in each of the sub-categories broken down by subject.

Table 9:3 shows clearly that Jackie's contributions are not distributed equally in all her subjects. It is noticeable that, whereas she makes some content-oriented moves in every subject, I recorded no independent moves in five subjects, and no dependent ones in three. The actual mean scores also vary widely within each sub-category: Jackie clearly contributes content-oriented

(15) The profile of Michelle discusses this point in some detail.

TABLE 9:3

Jackie's Speech Moves
by Subject

Subject	Teacher	Mean no. of Moves in Ten Lessons: Content-Oriented	Independent	Dependent
Maths	Napier	23.6	0.9	6.3
English	Milton	11.4	1.4	-
History	Flodden	18.0	-	4.0
Geography	Hill	12.8	-	8.5
Physics	Cavendish	2.0	-	5.0
Chemistry	Boyle	20.0	3.3	5.0
French	French	13.3	-	-
Latin	Iliad	13.3	-	-

moves more often in Maths and Chemistry than in, for instance, Physics, and she is particularly teacher-dependent in Geography and Maths. How are these considerable variations to be explained? The first factor which needs to be taken into account when discussing each individual girl's speech pattern across subjects is the 'atmosphere' created by the different staff who teach them. For example, it is not surprising to find that Jackie made no independent or dependent moves in any Latin lesson when (as Table 9:4 shows) Miss Iliad received, on average, only 0.3 independent moves, and 2.0 dependent ones, in each lesson from all

the girls in the 'A' set.(16) Similarly, the very low mean number of content-oriented contributions Jackie made in Physics (2.0 in ten lessons) is explicable when an examination of Table 9:4 shows that Mrs Cavendish only receives 3.3 content-oriented moves per lesson from the whole class.

The 'atmosphere' of the various lessons is not, of course, the whole story. Jackie's rare, and unevenly distributed independent moves are particularly intriguing, and need a more complicated explanation. She makes her few independent contributions in Maths (0.9 in ten lessons), and English (1.4 in ten lessons) where such acts are relatively common (see Table 9:4) and in Chemistry, where they are relatively rare. In all three subjects Jackie's independent moves are outnumbered by her content-oriented ones; a feature of her speech pattern which differentiates her clearly from some of the other girls we are considering here.(17) The precise distribution across subjects of these rare independent moves can be explained, using the various types of data I collected: Jackie's attitude to those subjects is one important variable.

In the initial questionnaire, each girl was asked to state which subjects she found easiest and hardest, which was her favourite, and in which she received her

(16) To give the reader an easier reference task, Table 7:6 is reproduced overleaf as Table 9:4.
(17) See the profiles of Michelle and Charmian given below.

TABLE 9:4

Breakdown of Pupil Contribution Categories by Subject

Name	Subject	Ave. No. of Pupil contributions per lesson		
		Content-Oriented	Tangential	
			Independent	Dependent
Napier	Maths A	23.3	9.2	4.4
Newton	Maths B	1.7	2.8	3.3
Milton	English A	22.1	11.7	0.5
Keats	English B	14.5	3.8	0.3
Flodden	History A	25.0	10.3	2.8
Bruce	History B	6.0	1.0	11.5
Hill	Geography A	15.0	8.1	5.1
Dale	Geography B	22.0	4.0	1.2
Cavendish	Physics A	3.3	5.8	1.6
Linnaeus	Biology A	4.3	10.0	4.8
Boyle	Chemistry A	24.0	3.1	1.8
Dalton	Chemistry	7.0	2.5	3.3
French	French B	31.5	1.1	0.1
Iliad	Latin A	27.0	0.3	2.0
Mean for all St Luke's teachers		15.0	6.0	2.7
Percentage per lesson for all teachers		62.8%	25.4%	11.7%

'best marks'. Jackie answered these questions as follows: English is her easiest subject, it is one of her two favourites,[18] and with Chemistry, the one in which she gets her best marks. She responded to the question on her hardest subject by saying: 'It varies - usually Latin'.

Jackie's liking for English and her success in it, taken with the profile of Mrs Milton given above, make her independent moves in that subject more understandable. The example of a dialogue from one of Mrs Milton's classes given in Chapter 8 does not have Jackie speaking, but other extracts from my field notes show her contributing to English classes in ways which are classified as 'independent' by my system.

The following example of an independent move from Jackie is taken from notes on a 'creative writing' lesson. Mrs Milton was using paintings as stimuli, and asking each girl to write down 'whatever comes into her head' in a response to each picture. The first one was a red abstract, which was pinned up, and left for ten minutes or so. Mrs Milton then asked for volunteers to read out what they had written. I noted:

> 1/Tu/2 'A surprisingly large number of people put up their hands...Jackie is called on after some others. She reads:

(18) The other favourite is 'games'.

"It's unattractive, the colours clash.
I don't like it."...'[19]

This comment, though no doubt a true expression of what Jackie thought about the abstract and therefore worthy to be classified as 'independent', is perhaps not original or 'creative' in any of the many current uses of that term.[20] Jackie's other independent moves in English were also in this vein; that is, volunteered personal opinions produced because she had accepted Mrs Milton's definition of English as a subject in which her personal view was wanted. Thus, in English her 'independent' moves were functionally equivalent to content-oriented ones in any other lessons. I recorded no quibbles or questions seeking extra information from Jackie in any English lesson.[21]

(19) Jackie had a below average score for divergent reasoning. Her rather 'negative' response can be compared with some others I recorded in the same lesson. Alexandra, another sylb, had written 'A pillar box'; Eleanor, again a sylb, had put 'A sandwich with ice cream at the bottom'.; and Karen, another boarder, but an intermediate, wrote 'Seasons - four colours, red equals summer - it's dominant'. Henrietta, a sylf, said it made her think of 'clothes - native women's skirts'.
(20) See the discussion of creativity in Hudson, 1966.
(21) Jackie's perceptions of Mrs Milton are relevant here. When asked to produce constructs with which teachers could be classified, (using the Rep Grid Technique described above) Jackie produced the usual pair "strict-easy going"; but, when describing Mrs Milton, she altered the "easy going" end of the polarity, and used the pair "strict - doesn't need to be strict" specifically so that Mrs Milton could be characterised by the latter construct. Jackie's other description of Mrs Milton was that she "understands the girls". In summary, Jackie found Mrs Milton sympathetic.

Maths and Chemistry

The existence of independent moves in Maths and Chemistry lessons is related to the high mean Jackie has for content-oriented moves in those subjects. She answers a great deal in those lessons; in Maths she also asked a large number of dependent questions.(22) My field-notes show a common type of question:

> 2/Tu/3 (A lesson on graphs) 'Jackie puts up her hand for help. Miss Napier asks her "What's up?" She says, "I've got all the numbers but I'm not sure where to put it."'

This is obviously a plea for help, and so a dependent move. The boundary between Jackie's independent and her content-oriented moves in Maths classes - as in English lessons - is not always as clear-cut. The following extract from a Maths lesson on vectors demonstrates this.

> 7/Th/5 'A difficult bit of reasoning is needed to link everything said so far into a proof. Henrietta vols. one good proof, Fleur vols. another one which is wrong, but would have been OK if it weren't based on a premature (or false) assumption. Then Jackie puts forward right idea, though only partially expressed...(Coded VR with "partially" added)...Later they do proof using congruent triangles, Selina asks:

(22) In informal conversation with Miss Napier about the girls in my sample she made an illuminating comment about Jackie - 'she only answers if she's sure she's right.'

> "I don't see how PBC and QPC are congruent".
> and Jackie vols. right explanation (coded VR)
> ...Later...as bell goes Jackie makes a sensible
> quibble about proof going up on the board.
> (coded QUIB).'

Here Jackie's quibble is an integral part of a problem-solving discussion in which she is closely involved. She volunteers two content-oriented answers which provide 'clues' towards establishing the proof, and then queries the form in which Miss Napier is expressing it on the board. That she feels free to quibble here is obviously due to the way in which Miss Napier involves the girls in genuine discussion to derive mathematical proofs, rather than producing them ex cathedra.(23)

The case of Jackie's apparently anomalous independent behaviour in Miss Boyle's Chemistry class is slightly different from the explanations given above for Maths and English. In Chemistry, much of the public interaction was in the form of 'drill' round the class; each girl being asked to produce a formula, equation or technical term in rotation. These 'quiz' sessions

(23) It is also a contributory fact that Miss Napier's classes are noisy, which encourages girls to speak aloud thoughts that might, in other classes, stay unexpressed. Jackie did not mention this aspect of Miss Napier's teaching; she merely classified her as 'good at explaining things'; but Alexandra (another syllabus-bound boarder) described Miss Napier as follows: 'She lets her classes get out of hand - lots of people argue back.' Michelle's comments on Miss Napier given below make a similar point.

occupied a considerable part of the public talk in every lesson, and were conducted with 'traditional formality'. Once these quiz sessions were completed, Miss Boyle reverted to her 'normal' manner, which was informal, and more suited to her age and self-presentation.(24)

From Jackie's point of view, Miss Boyle's most salient characteristic is her dual role as Chemistry teacher and warden of the boarding house. When asked to describe Miss Boyle, Jackie said 'I don't like having her for Chemistry and being in the BH (sic). She knows too much about you'. Knowing the boarders well enables Miss Boyle to interact with them in a particularly informal manner, and it is in the light of this that Jackie's speech pattern in Chemistry must be seen. Again, an extract from my field-notes will illustrate the point:

> 7&8/W/4 'Group are having homework returned when Gale comes through from 'B' group with the results of the big, multiple-choice, half-term test. Marks are read out. ... Jackie queries her mark for one question (coded QDSP) - she's right, has now got 49 (out of 56) ... Going over test round the class ... Jackie asked wrong (coded AW) - Miss B. makes a pun from her answer. Also gives supplementary prompting - eventually Jackie gets there...

(24) Miss Boyle was young, engaged, fashionably dressed, kept a bottle of hand cream by her sink in the lab; and, as Mary, another boarder said 'Gets around outside school.'

> Comes on to No. 4 in Part 2 ... Miss B. says "No-one got this one right". - Jackie and Karen (who are sitting next to each other) both shout indignantly "I did" (Coded QUIB) - Miss B. apologises.'

A Note on Teacher and Pupil Styles

Before leaving Jackie's profile, one point about the interrelationship between teacher-style and pupil work-styles needs to be made briefly. One might hypothesise that a girl like Jackie would prefer to be taught by directive teachers like Miss Iliad, who structure their lessons clearly, and leave little ambiguity for the girls. Similarly, one might expect such girls to dislike being taught by indirective teachers, like Mrs Milton, Mrs Cavendish and Mrs Flodden, who might in turn, be preferred by the syllabus-free girls, such as Nancy and Michelle, (discussed below). I did indeed have such an hypothesis in mind when I went into the field, but, in the event, the relationship of work-styles among staff and pupils proved to be more complicated. It is true that sylbs adjust their behaviour to the 'atmosphere' created by the mistress with greater alacrity; Jackie's classroom speech varies more across her curriculum than that of the sylfs discussed; but sylbs do not necessarily dislike noisier, informal, indirect regimes more than sylfs, nor do they necessarily like the quieter, orderly, formal, directive regime more than sylfs.

If we take Jackie as our example, she likes Mrs Flodden as an History teacher 'because she knows so much about History - she's stimulating'. Yet Mrs Flodden is described by Hazel as 'friendly, with the class, forgetful, gets into History - ends up doing The Charge of the Light Brigade down the class.', and Michelle, a sylf, dislikes her teaching. (See below) A similar point can be made about Mrs Cavendish's Physics classes. These have already been described in detail elsewhere (Delamont, 1972a) but were, to put it succinctly 'guided discovery' science with little or no guidance. Mrs Cavendish's style for conducting her lessons was (deliberately) upsetting for many of the girls, and was intended to be a form of 'culture shock' for all of them.

I expected the interviews to show that syllabus-bound girls were more distressed, but Jackie merely said that 'Mrs Cavendish is used to teaching people who know more Physics than us - muddling.' This, even allowing for Jackie's tendency to make unemphatic statements, is mild compared with the comments on Physics produced by her form-mates.(25) However, looking over my field-notes I discovered that Jackie, at least, did not look unduly perturbed in the lab. and seemed to have adjusted herself to Mrs Cavendish's system tolerably well.

(25) See Michelle, and Charmian described below, and the girls's comments in Delamont (1972a). Rosalind, a sylf, was particularly distressed by Mrs Cavendish, and the girl away ill, Isabelle, was, according to her friends, 'near a nervous breakdown'.

> 4&5/Tu/4 On this day I wrote: 'Jackie seems more alive than in anything else. Her experimental group are ahead of the others. Jackie (is) amused and competent - Karen (seems to be) in charge. Jackie uses the text book a lot... (later) Jackie is going by the book - she has named her ticker tapes and put them away - Hazel is wearing hers round her neck... (later) ... Jackie's gone up to Mrs C. for reassurance about handling/writing up results and drawing graphs.'

This extract shows Jackie using her text-book, and her friend Karen, to help her manage in the Physics class, and one can say that this provides an adequate 'coping' strategy for her. Certainly, she makes no independent moves, and a much higher average for dependent ones than for content-oriented contributions, a unique situation for Jackie, but she is, in the end, less upset by the regime than many sylfs.

In summary, Jackie's classroom speech acts can be meaningfully related to her 'scores' on the sylb/sylf inventory, which classified her as a conscientious sylb - a classification based on responses to an inventory which are themselves explicable in the light of her home background, and can be considered an accurate reflection of her behaviour in a particular social system, i.e. the context of St Luke's.

A Note on Ordering

The order in which to present the four profiles

is, in some ways problematical. One simple way would be to follow Jackie, the successful, conscientious sylb, by Yvonne, her unsuccessful counterpart. However, I have decided to deal with Yvonne and Nancy (two unsuccessful girls who shared the same friendship group) together, irrespective of their work-styles, so as to avoid undue repetition of material. Thus the next profile is of Michelle, the non-conscientious, successful sylf, who contrasts well with Jackie, and Yvonne and Nancy, two academically unsuccessful girls, follow.

PROFILE 2 - MICHELLE, A NON-CONSCIENTIOUS SYLF

Michelle is the chosen example of an academically successful, non-conscientious sylf. She was, as the reader may well have gathered already from the descriptions and quotations scattered through the previous chapters, a non-conformist. A member of Clique 5 (the brightest and most intellectually active group) she came from an intellectual family of the 'dual-career' type,(26) (Fogarty et al, 1971). Michelle was only in her second term at St Luke's, but knew many pupils there before transferring from another, similar school, and so had slotted into the social structure of the year with little disturbance. She was in the top set for all her subjects,

(26) Both her parents have distinguished university careers in different fields.

and was also taking a science course including Physics, the high status science option. She described her choice of course using a long-term perspective; post-graduate research;(27) and had plans to read Psychology at Oxford. Her career intentions were stated as follows on the initial questionnaire: 'Am interested in demography. Would like to be an M.P.' In her interview she expanded this latter statement by saying she would like to be a Marxist M.P.

Michelle completed all the various tests and questionnaires used during the research, and from these some interesting facts emerge. In addition to being syllabus-free, and not being conscientious, Michelle was well above average for the sample at divergent reasoning tasks - though typically, after producing an exceptional number of 'Uses of Objects' she wrote "Getting bored" on the script, and stopped.(28) (See Hudson, 1966, 1968a.) Table 9:1 showed Michelle to be in the top criterion groups for all types of classroom

(27) The choice of a science course was explained as follows: 'Cos I can't do languages and they bore me. All that you learn's been done many times before and you're not going to achieve anything by learning them, whereas in Science you learn it as a tool to do better things.'

(28) In another questionnaire posing a dilemma over homework with a 'syllabus-bound' and a 'syllabus-free' response possible, (see Appendix 3) Michelle refused to 'enter into the spirit' of the dilemma, and wrote: 'Marilyn is obviously a spare (sic) to worry about French verbs which she already knows quite well, so she would probably feel guilty.' Michelle did still produce one of the four extreme 'sylf' responses to this question which I received from the St Luke's sample.

contribution, but she is an introvert rather than extravert.

As a member of Clique 5 one would expect Michelle to have 'intellectual' hobbies and interests, though according to the interview and questionnaires these are not predominant - unusually for girls in Clique 5, she had an 'adolescent' social life. She answered the relevant questionnaire item on interests by listing 'drama, sailing, ski-ing and finding out about people, mostly by talking to them.' Michelle estimated her reading as above average, and though her choice of book types is standard for the sample, she is unusual in mentioning science fiction.(29) She also added the remark: 'Books that aren't exactly classical but people talk about them or think that if you haven't read them you've missed something.'(30)

Behaviour and Appearance

Michelle's personal appearance inside the school was not unusual. She was small and wirey, wore the uniform and tied her hair back. Outside the school she dressed very fashionably, in an idiosyncratic and 'off-

(29) Only twelve girls mentioned science fiction among their reading choices, and it ranked tenth of the fifteen types of book suggested.
(30) Michelle's answers to the question on newspaper and magazine reading was also unusual for St Luke's - she is the only girl to mention the magazine Nova, and two pop music papers, Melody Maker and Disc and Music Echo.

beat' way; a style which differentiated her sharply from her peers, in Clique 5 or the rest of the sample.(31) Her 'personal front' might not be remarkable within the school, but her presence in a lesson was unlikely to be overlooked. When asked what made girls unpopular with staff Michelle was one of the few girls who immediately used her own behaviour as an example. She answered: 'Making it difficult for them to teach - like me - making a nuisance of myself. I play around and don't listen, then when they've finished explaining say "I don't understand" and make them explain it again.'

Here Michelle makes it clear that she defines 'bad' behaviour in similar terms to those used by her contemporaries, but explicitly admits to indulging herself in it. When asked to describe Miss Napier (Maths A) she said 'We all play her up, she's got less control over the class - she's new and we're all a bit horrible to her.' I asked 'Does it worry you when classes are out of hand and noisy?' and Michelle replied: 'I <u>enjoy</u> it - I'm so deprived of it at St Luke's.'

Against this, Michelle also admits to arguing and questioning the staff a great deal with 'good'

(31) Chapter 4 described the groups which came to be interviewed together, and it was noticeable that Clique 5 were very self-sufficient. Michelle came with a friend from her previous school, who was dressed in 'hippy' clothes, and discussed drugs and para-psychology with my flat mate during Michelle's interview.

intentions: 'I - like in Physics - I mean I like to understand things. Some people when they don't understand just think "Oh well I don't understant - too bad." I'm not like that.'

Contrasting Motivations

These two attitudes Michelle has towards her classroom behaviour make many aspects of her speech pattern explicable. On one hand Michelle likes behaving 'badly' when she can get away with it; on the other, she has a strong desire to understand what she is studying, especially in maths and science classes.

The desire to behave badly in class has to be seen in the light of Michelle's overall feeling about St Luke's as a school, compared with her previous one. When asked to compare them, she told me: 'I much prefer the people at my old school - St Luke's girls are too well-behaved. At my old school the people had more interesting backgrounds. You can get into St Luke's just on money - much more alike - take their work more seriously.' In other words, Michelle sees life at St Luke's as rather tame, and enjoys disrupting it. This aspect of her classroom behaviour perhaps explains why she is seen by her coevals as unpopular with the staff.(32)

(32) Michelle was seen as unpopular with six teachers and as liked by two.

The contrasting motivation, to understand, has, paradoxically, much the same result for her classroom behaviour, as it leads Michelle to be outspoken whenever she feels that she has not grasped a point, or is unsure of the course the lesson is taking. Her actual contributions to the lessons often look very similar, whether they are caused by a desire to 'play up' the teacher, or a genuine need for understanding. Some extracts from field-notes which follow shortly will make this clear.

Biology

> 6&7/Friday/W.3. 'Michelle says that she "doesn't see" why or how the experiments "really" prove what they are supposed to - she quibbles about whether the controls really do control all the non-experimental variables - in this case (the light as an ingredient of photosynthesis experiment where leaves are partially covered with tin foil) how "you know" it's the light and not "something in the foil, or something we know nothing about". Not sure if she is genuinely puzzled or just being awkward. Rest not interested apart from Henrietta - Mrs L. comes over and tries to explain the logic of controlled experiments for her.'

This argument with Mrs Linnaeus is a very unusual type of pupil contribution, because it attacks the basic structure of the teacher's 'guided discovery' lessons. Very few girls ever made such open challenges

to a teacher's intellectual authority, and even Michelle did so rarely, and only in Science and Maths. Table 9:5 shows Michelle's contribution pattern in the various subjects she takes, and it is clear that the independent moves are exceptionally high in Maths, Biology and Physics. The material shown in Tables 9:1 and 9:2 reveals that Michelle made above average numbers of contributions in all categories, and while the above quotation makes her high score for independent moves explicable, they do not suggest why she scored high on content-oriented moves in several subjects, or the existence of dependent ones in Maths and two of the sciences.

TABLE 9:5

Michelle's Speech Moves
by Subject

Subject	Teacher	Mean No. of Moves in Ten Lessons		
		Content-Oriented	Independent	Dependent
Maths	Napier	21.8	23.6	1.8
English	Milton	11.4	11.4	0
History	Flodden	22.0	4.0	0
Geography	Hill	11.4	15.7	0
Physics	Cavendish	6.0	19.0	3.0
Chemistry	Boyle	10.0	1.6	0
Biology	Linnaeus	3.7	31.2	5.0

Michelle's Speech Behaviour

The dependent moves in Science are, I think, explicable in the light of the implicit rules for pupil talk in the classroom which are gradually being established by socio-linguistic studies in the school. (see Stubbs, 1972). It is permissible for a pupil to interrupt teacher discourse to ask certain types of question - typically the type of question classified as 'dependent' by my system - while other types of pupil talk are less legitimate. We have seen that Michelle pays less heed to the implicit rules than the majority of her class-mates, but it is clear that she does, on occasion, use the most acceptable way of opening dialogues with the teacher - that is a dependent question, before continuing with some other mode of talk. Another quote from field-notes taken in a Biology lesson illustrates this:

> 6&7/Friday/W4. 'Michelle queries one question on the test sheet - when Mrs Linnaeus has explained what it means Michelle says, out loud "I think it's very badly worded".

Here Michelle uses an acceptable opening, a dependence-seeking question (procedural), possibly because she is genuinely puzzled, but, equally possibly because she wants to make the critical comment (coded VPO) which follows. Later when the class went over the test, and one question on the carbon cycle was being marked my notes read:

> 2&3/Monday/W5. 'Mrs Linnaeus asks Sharon to give the answer to carbon cycle question, which she does correctly. Michelle calls out "I thought that was a good question". Mrs Linnaeus laughs and says "I'm flattered - but I didn't design it."'

These extracts show that even Michelle is aware of the limits of teacher tolerance, and so she uses the 'polite' or dependent entry for her negative comment, but dispenses with it for her praise.(33)

Michelle's contribution pattern, shown in Table 9:5 reveals a relatively small mean number of independent moves in two subjects, Chemistry and History; and of content-oriented moves in the three sciences .. The small number of contributions in Chemistry may be due to the greater degree of structure Miss Boyle imposed on her group, for example, using drill round the class and giving out work-sheets. Michelle said of Miss Boyle that she: 'Let's her front down - and she's jolly

(33) It is interesting to note that Evans and Wragg (1969) imply that praising the teacher is not a 'normal' pupil behaviour, by stating that, when studying educationally sub-normal children, they found it necessary to provide an extra category for 'pupil praises teacher'. Criticising the teacher is even more 'abnormal'. A similar point about praise is made by Moody (1968): 'It's no use expecting a working class child to greet you with "Good morning, Miss Moody" in reverential tone. To her it sounds daft. ... Equality is not synonymous with similarity ... so long as a girl I'd never seen in my life before could yell at the top of her voice along 30 yards of corridor, "Like yer blouse Miss Moody," we were winning.'

good - makes you understand it'. Michelle's mean score for independent moves in Chemistry is actually lower than Jackie's, and an extract from the field-notes about Michelle, taken in the same lesson as that given above for Jackie shows that in this class Michelle's behaviour is nearer that of the 'good pupil' than Jackie's.

> 7&8/W/4. 'Group are having homework returned when Gale comes through the 'B' group with the results of the big, multiple-choice, half-term test. Marks are read out...Michelle queries her mark, Miss Boyle is right...Michelle answers correctly... Michelle vols. a partially correct answer... Michelle asked, answers partially right, with prompting gets there... Michelle asked again, wrong, then corrects herself ... come to a question for which only Angela and Michelle had full marks ... go on to practical work... Michelle works with Angela and Penny - a competent and efficient group.'

This reversal of the 'good' and 'bad' roles between Jackie and Michelle in Chemistry shows just how complex the study of classroom behaviour at the individual level needs to be. Jackie's more relaxed interactions with a teacher she knows well are not the only unexpected twist in her behaviour compared with Michelle. In the earlier section on Jackie (above) I made the point that being syllabus-bound does not necessarily imply dislike of very 'indirect' teachers, or vice versa. Michelle is a case in point. In addition to being syllabus-free, in

her questionnaire responses, Michelle expressed opinions in her interview which confirmed that characterisation, such as:

> 'At my old school - in History and Geography - we were left on our own much more, had to make our own notes, here they're dictated and I find that much worse - it takes much more time.'
>
> 'I could have got Latin 'O' grade, but you just have to learn all the time.'

Given such comments one might expect Michelle to like teachers who leave the class to their own devices, rarely test, and place little emphasis on rote learning. Similarly, given her enjoyment of disruptive behaviour in the classroom, one would expect Michelle to revel in teachers whose control over their pupils is weak. But in fact neither expectation is fulfilled. The mistress who places the greatest emphasis on pupil self-determination, and the least on tests and rote learning, is Mrs Cavendish, to whom Michelle reacted strongly.

> 'Such a bad teacher - I'm sure she knows her stuff but doesn't realise how little we know about - in what ways we know about - can't get it across to us - disorganised. We spend too long on experiments.' (Michelle then told a long and rambling anecdote about spending a whole double lesson trying to do one small experiment on acceleration.) 'There are so many better things I could be doing with my time - it's good to do experiments but we could have done it in twenty minutes not eighty.'

When contrasting Mrs Linnaeus with the Biology teacher from her previous school Michelle said:

> 'We did Biology differently at X. We were told what, say photosynthesis was, and then we did experiments to prove it. Here we do lots of experiments and conclude things from them - seem to take a long time, go round and round - lose the thread. Half way between would be better.'(34)

Jackie was shown to be happy with Mrs Flodden both as an History teacher and as a person. Michelle did not dislike her personally, but objected to her style:

> 'She's not very good I don't think - she's scatterbrained - at least she's not scatter-brained about History, she forgets to come to classes - she seems to remember all her History - she's a much more interesting person than Miss Paris.'

(34) This view can be compared with that given to me by Philippa, an intermediate, who described Mrs Linnaeus as teaching 'in a roundabout way' and when I asked her to explain, went on: 'Well she'll say "Do this", and then we'll work out a conclusion to it and she'll explain that this is why that - and you finally get - you don't realise quite why you're doing it, and then you suddenly see why and all the experiments make sense. It really makes you think for yourself - and then - apparently the 'O' grade paper really there's nothing you've actually done before, and it's completely understanding. Another thing - Mrs Linnaeus makes you make up your own notes - it's more difficult to make up your own, but I can see it may be a help later because I sort of remember them better when I read them through. I remember them much better if I've made them myself - but you can't be sure if you've done anything wrong - she never really corrects them - you might have something wrong and learn it wrong.'

Here again, Jackie seems to be reacting more like the archetypal sylf than Michelle does; that is contrary to their questionnaire scores and general outlook on school life. Before passing on to consider the two academically unsuccessful girls, who react to teaching styles in a way much closer to their inventory scores, Jackie and Michelle are briefly compared.

Comparison of Jackie and Michelle

The two profiles just presented have shown a conscientious sylb, Jackie, who approximates to the model of the 'ideal pupil' held by her contemporaries, and a non-conscientious sylf, Michelle, who approximates to the 'bad' pupil model, and prides herself on being a non-conformist. Both girls have classroom speech patterns which are compatible with their inventory responses, and their overall perceptions of their lives, as discussed in their interviews. Thus, in the case of these two individuals the contrasting academic types think and act in ways consistent with the major hypotheses about the interrelations of classroom speech and work-styles. However, the associated hypotheses, concerning attitudes towards different types of teaching behaviours among sylbs and sylfs, seem not to be confirmed by these profiles, but rather to be completely reversed. Jackie does not seem unduly perturbed by indirect teaching - indeed she seems to enjoy it - while Michelle objects vociferously to the same staff.

This unexpected result, (which does not hold for all sylbs compared to all sylfs as the two profiles which follow show) can, however, be understood if one compares the differential effects of the St Luke's social system upon these two girls. Michelle has been at St Luke's only just over a term, while Jackie has been there since the age of eleven; Jackie has therefore experienced all her secondary education at the school and has had longer to adapt herself to the prevailing academic and institutional climates. Michelle on the other hand, although friendly with St Luke's girls before joining the school, had to adjust to the different climate, and academic pace of the new setting. Her 'syllabus-bound' reaction to some courses, particularly Biology and Physics, can best be understood by comparing the climate of her previous school (The Guild of Clothiers' Girls' School) with that of St Luke's.

Michelle's characterisation of the Clothiers' as having a wider cross section of girls, in terms of social class, is an accurate one; although also single sex and fee-paying, the Clothiers' takes academically able girls from the skilled working class upwards.(35) A girls' school with high academic standards and a mixed intake

(35) The Clothiers' Guild school was visited by the observer several times during 1968-71, and classroom observation and staff interviews took place. The comparison presented here is based upon that observation.

in social class terms is likely to be associated with strong institutional control systems, as Chapter 3 discussed, and the Clothiers' is no exception. As the system of social control was stronger, or at least more rigid and explicit, so also was the 'rebellion' against it, and compared to St Luke's, the disciplinary situation at St Luke's would appear, to a non-conformist, tame.

Against this, the academic teaching at the Clothiers' appeared to the observer to be more tightly structured and directive, partly because the whole secondary curriculum had to be covered in the years 12 to 16 (while St Luke's started their girls on the full secondary curriculum at 10), and partly because classes, at 30 to 35, were much larger.(36) Thus Michelle's description of the History and Geography staff at her previous school leaving girls to 'make their own notes', sounds like a more syllabus-free style of teaching. However, it is possible that the St Luke's teachers were actually in less of a hurry to cover the material, and so taught more by discussion, with dictated summaries, more to fill up the time than from any desire to structure the

(36) Michelle's comments on French are illuminating on this point: 'I'm not really very good at French. Miss Paris is - takes our work very seriously. Very conscientious about how we're being taught. You can never tell what she's like as a person. She has tantrums - doesn't really worry me, 'cos I'm not interested in the subject. I was <u>a long way behind</u> when I came...' (emphasis mine).

girls' work. Michelle's descriptions of the science staff at her old school suggests that they structured their classes very highly, compared to those at St Luke's.

Therefore one explanation for Michelle's behaviour may be that; while she had fitted into the informal social structure of St Luke's; she found herself facing less rigidly structured teaching situations in company with what, to her, seemed docile class-mates. To speculate, she had become a rebel without a cause.(37)

Jackie and Michelle also differ in another, related, fashion. Jackie is evidently more deeply involved in school life than Michelle; she is a boarder, her close friends are fellow-pupils, her hobbies school-related - in sum, St Luke's is a very important part of Jackie's life. For Michelle this is clearly not the case - she has many friends outside the school, does not belong to any school societies, and in many small ways intimated to the observer that she did not regard the minutiae of school life as very relevant to her.(38)

Here, then, we have not only a contrast of study-habits, but of life-styles, which overlays the sphere

(37) The relationship, and the dividing line, between the hidden and the manifest aspects of the curriculum is important here - a problem which is discussed in the following chapter.
(38) For example, she did not know the names of many girls outside her own clique, or of staff who did not teach her. She objected to a teacher who taught so the girls 'have to do tons at home'. When I expressed surprise that she was one of very few girls thinking of reading social sciences at University she said, 'That's typical of St Luke's.'

of attitudes to schoolwork. Jackie, the successful sylb, is more involved in her school life, and has adapted well to it, while Michelle finds it very different from her previous experience and is not concerned enough to think out a new set of behaviours to suit the new environment.

TWO ACADEMICALLY UNSUCCESSFUL GIRLS: NANCY AND YVONNE

The two profiles which complete this chapter are of academically unsuccessful girls - Nancy, a non-conscientious sylf, and Yvonne, a conscientious sylb. Both girls are members of Clique 2, the group containing most of the rebellious girls in my sample. In addition to their interest as academically unsuccessful sylb and sylf, the two girls are examples of the different ways in which a setting system (as opposed to streaming) can affect secondary pupils' attitudes to, and progress in, school. This topic is mentioned briefly as a prologue to the two profiles.

Streaming and Setting

Many studies carried out in recent years have suggested that streaming in a school by academic performance can set up a 'vicious circle'. In this circle a pupil in a low stream is poorly perceived, reacts by behaving badly, arouses staff criticism, then in turn reacts

to the criticism by becoming immersed in a peer-group of similar pupils who reinforce each others' bad behaviour. Such groups orientate themselves to values which are opposite to, or markedly different from, those put forward by the school, such as adolescent pop-culture, football or thieving, (Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1970; Sugarman, 1970). This 'circle' is put forward to explain the noticeable decline in performance and IQ which occurs in low-stream pupils: the 'self-fulfilling prophecy'.

In Chapter 2 I suggested, on the basis of the large study with the sylb/sylf inventory, that streaming in girls' secondary schools might affect the distribution of work-styles in the school; as well as academic performance. There was some evidence that streamed girls' schools 'cooled-out' syllabus-free girls; so that they became concentrated in the lower streams and did not aim for higher education.

This hypothesis is clearly related to the material in Chapter 3 where the institutional control systems of girls' schools were discussed, in their historical context. It was suggested that girls' schools with academic aims, and mixed intakes in social class terms, will also tend to have strict regimes and enforce 'double conformity'.(39)

Most of the work on streaming has been done in boys' or primary schools. However, it is reasonable

(39) Ladylike behaviour and high academic standards.

to hypothesise - given the nature of girls' schools - that a mixed intake, streamed girls' school with high academic aims will produce bottom streams full of non-conscientious sylfs, (probably in rebellion against the school) and top streams of conformist conscientious sylbs. This was what the 1969 sylb/sylf study (reported in Chapter 2) showed. Chapter 3 discussed why St Luke's did not fit this pattern, all too common for girls' schools: it is not a streamed school; it has an intake who do not have to be made into 'ladies'; and its teachers were a highly qualified, elite sample, who taught their subjects rather than being employed as custodians. These facts about St Luke's explain why being syllabus-bound or free is not related to academic success, or to further education plans, for the whole sample.

However, the teaching groups were not mixed-ability classes, but 'sets'. Although it was possible for girls to be in top sets for some subjects and low ones for others, (which avoids the 'vicious circle' effects of streaming) some girls were - perhaps inevitably - in a low set for everything they took, and so were in much the same situation as they would have been in a streamed school.

The next profile is of Nancy, a girl who exemplifies this limitation of the setting system, by belonging to a non-conformist peer group which showed several of the features described by Hargreaves, Lacey and Sugarman. Nancy is followed by Yvonne, also in low sets for her

subjects and in Clique 2, but less alienated and disruptive. These two, and Geraldine (Appendix 5) show three different individual reactions to what one might term 'life in a low set'.

PROFILE 3 - NANCY, A NON-CONSCIENTIOUS SYLF

Nancy is our example of a non-conscientious sylf who is relatively unsuccessful in her school work. She had a low 'academic score' being in the lower sets for all her subjects. Her choice of optional subjects had been constrained by the school:

> 'Well I didn't really want to do Chemistry and Biology - I wanted to do German, but Mrs French said I couldn't - she didn't think I'd manage it. She suggested Spanish, but I thought - I could do that in the sixth form.'

Significantly, when asked to nominate the subject she found easiest, Nancy left the space blank, though she filled in her hardest subject (English) and the spaces for her favourite and the one in which she received her best marks (Geography).

Nancy was a central member of Clique 2, the group which had the greatest involvement in adolescent, commercial activities, and few intellectual interests. She planned to do an Ordinary Arts degree at University, and then to

teach at primary level.(40)

Nancy came from a large family, had been at St Luke's for seven years (that is since she was seven), and had attended a small private school for 'under-nines' before that. Her personal appearance and self-presentation were not calculated to appeal to many teachers, as my initial descriptive field-notes show:

> 'Big (and) bouncy. Holes in her cardigan. Clumsy, noisy, lazy, but apparently "heart of gold". Elder and younger sister at school. Always talking, often reprimanded - never does any maths.'

This first impression was not substantially modified during the field-work, for Nancy continued to be clumsy, noisy and untidy. She was herself aware of the effect her personal appearance had on certain teachers, telling me that: 'Miss Keats picks on me 'cos I'm untidy - she strongly dislikes my untidiness.'(41)

Hargreaves and Lacey both noted that low-stream boys took less part in voluntary school activities. This

(40) Her choice of career, and its justification, a social conscience, is, as Chapter 5 showed, a common one among members of Clique 2. She said: 'I think I've always wanted to do something like primary teaching - I well I wouldn't like to do it in a private - I'd like to do it in a corporation school - because the kids - if you got them doing something - it would give greater satisfaction - 'cos they're deprived - they'd enjoy - get enjoyment from drawing a picture or something.'

(41) This self-presentation can be compared with that of Jackie, the successful sylb, discussed earlier.

was one area where clique membership at St Luke's did not have a significant effect: girls with low academic scores, and in all the cliques, belonged to school clubs and played in teams. In fact, girls in Clique 2 were often members of several school clubs, and Nancy belongs to several school societies: music, history and the 'literary and debating' and to sports clubs outside school. All the hobbies she lists are sporting, and on the leisure reading questionnaire, she was the only respondent to estimate her reading as 'considerably less than the average for the form'. She claimed to read none of the authors suggested, and under newspapers and magazines wrote 'Scottish Daily Express and Jackie'.(42) Nancy's divergent reasoning was below average - her scores on 'Uses of Objects' and 'Meanings of Words' falling in the bottom and next to bottom quartiles.

Nancy's Classroom Speech

As a non-conscientious sylf, one would predict that Nancy made few content-oriented moves, and an above average number of tangential ones, biased towards independent contributions.

Tables 9:1 and 9:2 showed that Nancy fell into

(42) 'Jackie' is the nearest thing to a love comic (Alderson, 1968) that any of my sample mentions. It is aimed at very young teenagers, and concentrates on strip cartoon love stories and pop music.

the lowest quintile for contributions in all categories, and for content-oriented moves, but was in the centre quintile for both types of tangential contribution. The hypothesis is, therefore, correct in Nancy's case. Table 9:6 shows her speech pattern by subject.

TABLE 9:6

Nancy's Speech Pattern by Subject

Subject	Teacher	Mean No. of Moves per ten lessons: Content-Oriented	Independent	Dependent
Maths	Newton	0	1.0	1.0
English	Keats	4.4	1.1	0
History	Bruce	0	5.0	10.0
Geography	Dale	5.0	0	0
Chemistry	Dalton	0	0	0
French	French	13.3	0	0
Biology	Linnaeus	2.5	2.5	5.0
Latin	Odyssey	10.0	10.0	0

Table 9:6 shows the details of how Nancy's contributions were distributed across the eight subjects in her curriculum. From this table we see that there are three subjects in which Nancy makes no content-oriented moves at all (Maths, History and Chemistry) and only two in which she makes ten or more per ten lessons attended. (Latin and French.) Her independent moves are also

distributed unevenly, with none in three subjects; and five or more per ten lessons in only two. (History and Latin.) Nancy's dependent moves are distributed in the most uneven mode of all, with none recorded in four of the eight subjects, and two teachers, (Mrs Bruce and Mrs Linnaeus) receiving the bulk of this type of contribution.

These distributions can be illuminated by considering Nancy's attitudes to her work, and extracts from my field-notes. We have already seen that Nancy felt none of her subjects were easy, and that she did not pick a science course as her first option. When asked how she felt about her curriculum Nancy said: 'I don't really hate either Chemistry or Biology - I don't like Maths - very much'. These negative attitudes fit Nancy's small number of content-oriented moves in those subjects - particularly when her feelings about the three teachers are also taken into account.(43)

One explanation of Nancy's pattern of content-oriented moves is, therefore, that she made few or none in lessons where she disliked the subject or the teacher. If this were true, the reverse should operate: her content-oriented contributions should occur in classes where she

(43) Of her Maths teacher Nancy said 'Miss Newton's unmarried - and usually a married one has more understanding!' Miss Dalton is 'also unmarried' though Nancy said 'I like best of these - well - I don't know..' when shown her name with Miss Keats and Miss Knox. Mrs Linnaeus, she felt, 'blamed everything on me'.

liked the subject or the staff member. This is, in fact, the case. Nancy made her content-oriented moves for the most part in Geography, Latin and French. Geography was her favourite subject, and the one in which she got her best marks. Miss Dale was the only teacher whose good opinion she claimed with confidence. Nancy did also suggest that Mrs French liked her ('She's ... understanding, tho' she's one of the strictest').

Nancy was not forthcoming about Miss Odyssey (saying only 'She's funny, she acts as if she's taught for ages.') However, her form-mates told me that Miss Odyssey and Miss Dale liked Nancy. Certainly, if one contrasts Nancy's behaviour in Maths and Biology with her activities in Latin, not only her pattern of content-oriented moves, but her whole demeanour is vastly different. The following extracts from field-notes make the point.

Biology

3 & 4/Tu/2. 'Nancy is singled out as an example of clumsiness and bad practical work ... (later) Nancy uses her pencil to shove leaf down the test tube. Does not take advantage of offer to leave experiment boiling and write up - stays sitting and gossiping - gathers group round her - told to go and copy diagram - told her last experiment done badly - i.e. there were some results to get if she had tried. (later) Nancy says with surprise "It works" and Mrs L. replies sarcastically, "Yes Nancy, it works". (later) Rest of experimental group leave her guarding experiment -

immediate panic[44] - rescued by Louise. While writing up she leans across to Vanessa and says "Can I copy - I mean can I see yours".'

Maths

2/Tu/2. Miss Newton says pointedly "Nancy needs all her attention for her Maths" (tacit reprimand to Vanessa for talking to her).'

Maths

2/Tu/3. 'They are now doing sine and cos problems by voting - each problem they have a vote to decide whether to use sine or cos to solve it - first vote finds the class about equally divided except Nancy who hasn't moved - Miss N. asks her what she thinks. Nancy says "I haven't thought at all." .... they start silent seat work ... even Nancy's working ... Miss Newton moves Vanessa's desk away from Nancy's saying "Lot of good looking at her will do." ...'

It is in Miss Odyssey's Latin class that Nancy's behaviour altered most radically, (perhaps because neither Vanessa nor Yvonne attended that group). The following extract shows the observer's own surprise at the change in Nancy's behaviour.

(44) The experiment boiled over and put out the bunsen burner.

Latin

7/Tu/3 'Grammar drill round the class - everyone is coping - few mistakes, not any specific person - even Nancy is competent .... They go on to the Latin Crossword puzzle .... Miss O. asks them which clue they are stuck on ... Nancy calls out a number - starts speculation from the rest .... Nancy has a good idea ... Miss O. admits she has "no idea" what one clue means - Nancy tells her to ask "Miss Iliad - she's bound to know."'

All these extracts (except the last) show that Nancy is rarely an asset to a class, and in many ways it is surprising that more teachers did not harass her like Miss Newton. Yet Mrs Linnaeus complained to me on several occasions that she could get no support in the staffroom for her perception of Nancy as 'lazy', 'a nuisance' and 'a pest'. Mrs Linnaeus felt that the majority of her colleagues held a high opinion of Nancy because her sister had been a very popular head girl, and that Nancy was seen through her sister's 'halo' and not in her 'true colours'. Certainly, Mrs Linnaeus's friends in the staffroom, who included Miss Dalton and Miss Odyssey, did not support her negative feelings towards Nancy, but said they found her pleasant to teach, if 'not very clever'. If Mrs Linnaeus had been more friendly with either Miss

Newton or Miss Keats[45] she might have found her feelings about Nancy reinforced.

Nancy's Tangential Moves

Nancy's speech pattern (as shown in Tables 9:1 and 9:2) was a below average number of content-oriented contributions and an average number of tangential contributions, compared with the rest of the sample. Her tangential (independent and dependent) moves (shown in Table 9:6) were unevenly distributed across her curriculum, with History, Biology and Latin showing all but a tiny fraction of those I recorded. In this final section of her profile, the reasons for this uneven distribution are examined.

Tangential moves, according to the structure of the category system, are pupil attempts at altering the focus of the teacher's conduct of a lesson. Independent contributions are attempts to widen the focus; dependent

(45) Nancy felt that she was disliked by Miss Keats for her untidy personal appearance. Field-notes reveal incidents which make Nancy's perceptions seem reasonably 'accurate'.

English
1/Tu/2. 'Listening to a record in a semi-circle. Yvonne, Nancy and Vanessa try to sit up on their desks - told to sit down ..... Nancy keeps fidgeting.'

English
1/Tu/3. Reading Twelth Night. 'Nancy starts mumbling her part - told to "sit up and read out". She reads badly, without enthusiasm or expression.'

contributions attempts to narrow it. Thus a girl making many independent moves in any particular teacher's class is implicitly reacting against the teacher's structuring by trying to widen it; while one who made many dependent moves would be trying to get more structure included in teaching.

Nancy made more independent moves in Latin than in any other subject. This, considering her friendly, relaxed relationship with Miss Odyssey is understandable. Nancy, like the rest of the set, saw Miss Odyssey as 'easily led astray'. The existence of both independent and dependent contributions in Biology and History is more problematic. My tentative hypothesis is that, in Nancy's case, they indicate an uneasy relationship between her style of work and those teachers' styles.(46)

We have already seen, in the discussion of Jackie and Michelle, that the interrelations between teacher style and pupil style are complicated, and often not what one might predict from the literature and questionnaire results. Nancy provides another example of how complicated the interrelations can be.

Mrs Bruce, who takes Nancy for History, has a very similar style to Mrs Flodden, about whom Jackie and Michelle disagreed in an unpredictable manner. Given

(46) In other words, I have no evidence to suggest that Nancy, like Michelle, was strongly motivated to understand and to make mischief, and so I want to put forward a different explanation in Nancy's case for a similar speech phenomenon.

Nancy's immediate reaction when presented with Mrs Bruce as a stimulus, 'She's married - but she's scatty -' one might hypothesise that a careless and untidy, non-conscientious sylf would go on to say that she liked that teacher's classes.

Nancy's attitudes are in fact ambivalent - she went on 'You probably like them better if they're unorganised, but organised ones teach you better.' She cannot, however, be seen as another example of a sylf who prefers direct teaching, for she went on later in the interview, to praise Mrs Bruce's teaching. This complex problem is discussed at greater length in the next profile, where Yvonne's and Nancy's attitudes towards their staff are compared. Briefly, I think that Nancy was unsure how to react to either Mrs Linnaeus's or Mrs Bruce's teaching, and so attempted to get more structure at some points, and to get less at others.

PROFILE 4 - YVONNE, A CONSCIENTIOUS SYLB

Yvonne is our example of an academically un-successful, conscientious sylb. She was also a member of Clique 2, which, as Chapter 4 described, had an intermediate position in the ability ranking of cliques, and consisted mainly of girls who were involved in 'adolescent society' activities. She was taking sciences - but had not been allowed to start the 'O' grade Physics course. Her relatively poor academic score during my field work was of

fairly recent origin, in that she had been demoted from the 'A' to the 'B' set for French and for Maths only at the end of the previous year. Whether these 'demotions' were partially caused by her increasing involvement with a group of relatively rebellious, unacademic girls, (in particular Nancy and Vanessa) or whether she sought their friendship as a consolation for increasing academic difficulties is difficult to determine.

She does, however, provide an interesting contrast with Nancy, because, in terms of her study habits and personal style she seems much more likely to retain popularity with the staff. Yvonne had been at St Luke's all her school life, as had her two younger sisters. My initial field-notes identifying her read:

> 'Medium height, build and hair colouring - hair longish and always tied back - good at maths and reasonable at games.'

A personal appearance which is clearly more likely to appeal to teachers than Nancy's.(47)

Yvonne was an assiduous joiner of school societies ('I like doing lots of things'.), belonging to the badminton, music, history, 'literature and debating'; and several societies for pupils from all Edinburgh schools. Outside

(47) When they came to the interview together the difference was equally pronounced, Nancy wearing what I described as 'scruffy cord trousers, a sloppy jersey, socks and a jacket' while Yvonne's trousers and jersey were immaculate.

school, she belonged to clubs for skating, swimming and dancing, and listed her hobbies as 'riding, swimming, skating, walking, tennis and animals'. On the reading questionnaire Yvonne estimated her reading amount as 'slightly less than the average', and claimed to read only the most commonly chosen types of book and listed authors. In the space for periodicals she wrote: '19, Express, Mail, Honey sometimes, and various for special articles.' - the last entry being possibly an interesting attempt to make the responses look more school-oriented.

Yvonne was taking sciences because 'I wanted to do Biology - I like the sciences better.' and said her parents 'encouraged what I wanted.' She was unsure whether to try for university or go to a College of Education. In the space for career choice Yvonne wrote 'something with animals or children,' a typical response for a Clique 2 girl.

Yvonne's Classroom Speech

Tables 9:1 and 9:2 showed that Yvonne had a contribution pattern with an average mean score for content-oriented ones, yet one of the lowest scores for independent ones. Table 9:7 shows this pattern broken down across the seven subjects in Yvonne's curriculum. The most striking fact about this table is the total absence of independent moves in any subjects.

It also stands out that Yvonne made no content-oriented moves in two subjects (History and Biology) and no dependent ones in two others (English and French); the large numbers of content-oriented moves in French and of dependent ones in Chemistry, History and Biology are remarkable also. This contribution pattern can best be understood in the light of Yvonne's own perceptions of her school-work and teachers, illustrated by extracts from my field-notes.

TABLE 9:7

Yvonne's Speech Pattern by Subject

Subject	Teacher	Mean No. of Moves (per ten lessons) Content-Oriented	Independent	Dependent
Maths	Newton	3.0	0	13.0
English	Keats	3.3	0	0
History	Bruce	0	0	20.0
Geography	Dale	10.0	0	5.0
Chemistry	Dalton	11.6	0	18.9
French	French	21.6	0	0
Biology	Linnaeus	0	0	25.0

Maths was one of the most salient subjects in Yvonne's school life. She named it as her easiest subject (with games), her favourite (again with games) and the one in which she got best marks. Yvonne was eloquent on the

subject of her Maths teacher:

> 'Miss Newton never speaks - unless she's writing on the black-board or something. Never really teaches - just sort of says "Turn to page so and so and do this". and when you've done it she says "Look up the answers in the back and correct them," and if you've done it wrong you go up to her and she'll try to explain it.' I asked 'Do you get on with her teaching - are you happy?' 'I am but Maths is one of the things I'm quite good at - Louise and I are usually miles ahead.'

Table 9:4 showed that Miss Newton only received 1.7 content-oriented moves, 2.8 independent, and 3.3 dependent ones (in each lesson) from the whole class. Yvonne alone was making 0.3 content-oriented and 1.3 dependent contributions in every single lesson she attended - figures which imply that she was taking far more than her 'fair share' of the available teacher attention. The following extract from a Maths lesson shows the prominence of Yvonn's voice:

> 6/M/5. 'Miss N. sets problems to be done "in dead silence" - Nancy asks a question and is withered with a look. Yvonne vols. the right answer to the first problem.. They go on to the next page - Yvonne's hand up for help ... Miss N. goes to Louise and Yvonne ... Yvonne's hand up again ... Miss N. with Cheryl, Yvonne's hand up she calls out - a question seeking clarification of a fact .. Miss N. tells

her the answer ... Miss N. does number 3 on the board, Yvonne puts her hand up and calls out "How do I do Number 4?" - and is told to leave it out ..... Yvonne's hand up again, she calls out "I've done it - do I go on to exercise 5?" - Given more work .... Miss N. sets the prep. Yvonne asks a question about some detail.'

If this extract is compared with similar ones, describing how Geraldine and Janice (see Appendix 5) and Nancy acted in Maths classes it becomes very clear that Yvonne demanded far more attention from Miss Newton than they did. If we now consider two subjects in which Yvonne made no dependent moves, (English and French) the field-notes look very different.

French

3/W/3. 'Mrs French making up for two days in which she was absent. Asking questions round class - Yvonne vols. a right answer (in French) - they go on to translate a funny/ shaggy dog story - Yvonne asked to translate, she is slow but reasonably accurate and idiomatic ... (Later) a discussion of past participle endings, a question has every hand up but Yvonne and Clare's.'

French

3/F/3. 'Going over prep - then they go on to their "reader" as it's Friday. Mrs F. starts to read aloud - very stirring, full of expression...

> asks a question, Yvonne vols. right ... story continues to its dramatic conclusion.'

English

> 1/Tu/3. 'Lesson opens with an inquisition into missing homework - Belinda was absent, Yvonne's was late and on paper instead of in her book (REP) - Mary is told off (REP) for talking, then they start reading aloud from Twelth Night - Yvonne picked to read Feste in one scene - she sounds (to the observer) as if she is trying.' (In this lesson Yvonne did not volunteer to answer a single question.)

A glance at these three extracts reveals how much more attention Yvonne demanded in Maths. We have seen that she had a favourable attitude towards Miss Newton. Her attitudes towards Miss Keats and Mrs French are in clear contrast and go some way towards explaining her undemanding behaviour in English and French. When presented with their names Yvonne said:

> 'They're both full of themselves - they never listen to anyone else's reasoning - they always think they're right - it - when they bring me into it I don't like it - well when they don't listen to me - won't hear what I what I think - 'cos I might not understand what they're saying - I question it.'

Here Yvonne seems to be saying that her genuine attempts to gain further clarification or understanding from these two teachers by questioning them, (dependent moves) are misinterpreted by them as argument, and dismissed unreasonably, so she withdrew from further discussion or interaction.

Later in the interview she said that Mrs French picked on her:

> 'I came down from the 'A' division last term and I don't think she likes me for that - I think she thinks I should still be brilliant for that - and I'm not.' I asked, 'Do you find French difficult?' and Yvonne went on; 'Sometimes - it's straightforwsrd if you know what you're doing but if you get muddled up it's difficult then.'

Turning from the three basic subjects to History and Geography, Table 9:7 shows that Yvonne participated with content-oriented moves in Geography, and asked occasional dependent questions, while her contribution to History consisted entirely of dependent moves. Yvonne said she preferred Geography: her interest in Maths was revealed in a Geography lesson on time zones, in which Miss Dale had the group working out mathematical problems involving times and dates in different cities round the world. In this lesson Yvonne appeared much more animated than in any other Geography lesson I watched and answered, voluntarily, two questions, both needing calculation. The following extract from field-notes taken in History shows the contrast.

History

6/Tu/3. 'They are getting notes on Pitt's naval wars and achievements - they are told how to arrange them but there is a general muddle about precise details. Yvonne asks for guidance (QDSP) - Gale is most alert - or rather gives right answers to factual and general knowledge questions - Katherine just guesses, usually wrongly - Yvonne very quiet.

Yvonne's low participation in History classes is associated with her comments on the subject and on Mrs Bruce:

'I'd like to drop History - I just don't find it very interesting - she always goes off the subject - doesn't even stay on History but we're supposed to be getting History, and I don't like learning about her personal affairs instead of History - a waste of time - annoying.'

Yvonne is here expressing the archetypal sylb's dislike of the teacher who leaves the syllabus.(48) Once again, the History mistress crystallizes the different perceptions of a syllabus-bound girl and a syllabus-free one. Just as Jackie (the successful sylb) liked Mrs Flodden's teaching, while Michelle (the successful sylf)

(48) Another teacher Yvonne felt digressed too frequently from her subject was Miss Knox: 'She goes on about her personal life and things...that sort of thing, full of herself. Were you in that lesson where she was calling everyone morons and yokels and things? - and it's stupid when she does that 'cos no-one's going to listen to her..'

disliked it; so attitudes to Mrs Bruce differentiate between Yvonne (the unsuccessful sylf). Jackie liked Mrs Flodden's highly 'indirect' teaching, while Michelle did not. In contrast, Yvonne disliked Mrs Bruce's highly 'indirect' teaching while Nancy liked it.(49)

To conclude this chapter Nancy and Yvonne are briefly compared, as Jackie and Michelle were. This comparison highlights some of the differences between an academically unsuccessful sylb and an equally unsuccessful sylf, and also shows how study-habits can mitigate some of the effects of academic failure.

Comparison of Nancy and Yvonne

An exhaustive comparison of the two girls would be both long and tedious. I have therefore concentrated upon two, out of several possible, differences between them, which seem to me to illustrate important aspects of their classroom behaviour. These two differences are their perception of the 'good' and 'bad' pupil; and their behaviour in their two science classes, Biology and Chemistry. This last difference also suggests some ways in which one science teacher, Miss Dalton, was more successful at handling the members of Clique 2, than Mrs Linnaeus was. This difference between the teachers brings the analysis back to

(49) Unlike Yvonne, Nancy is favourable towards Mrs Bruce: 'She's married - and married ones have more understanding - she's scatty - but she's a good teacher.'

the question of streaming and setting with which the girls' profiles opened. Thus, the behaviour of a sylb and a sylf is related to teaching strategies, and to school organisation.

Nancy described the popular girl as follows: 'I don't think teachers like suckers, but like just doing what you're told - pleasant - trying as hard as you can - not being lazy and just sitting back.' When I asked her whether staff preferred girls who were good at their subjects, Nancy explicitly denied this - 'Miss Knox does - that's all.' Yvonne, however, answered my initial question about popularity by saying: 'I don't know - probably the subjects you're good at the teachers like you better - the ones with good personalities and good at subjects - teachers seem to like those who are good.'

The contrast between these comments is striking. Nancy, who is doing relatively badly in almost all her subjects, denies that staff popularity is based on pupil ability, while Yvonne, who is still relatively successful in several lessons, feels that popularity can be gained by good work. For Nancy, then, good behaviour, (like 'sitting up straight' and 'not talking') leads to popularity with the staff, and these are things which she could do, if she chose to; unlike academic work, which she perceives as beyond her conscious control. Here Yvonne's beliefs about what constitute good behaviour in the classroom and popularity with staff 'fit' her conscientious study-habits, and her behaviour in subjects like Maths, which she felt she

was good at. Nancy, on the other hand, had a set of beliefs, and of behaviours, which 'fit' her non-conscientious study-habits, and also, as she was herself aware, made her relatively unpopular with many staff.

If the behaviour of Nancy and Yvonne in Biology and in Chemistry is compared, two things emerge. First, both girls are relatively 'failing' in Biology; second in Chemistry Yvonne is a 'success', though Nancy is not. By this I mean that, whereas in Biology, neither girl is successfully coping with the work as Mrs Linnaeus would like, in Chemistry, Yvonne is managing in a way Miss Dalton wants them to. This difference is interesting for two reasons. It shows a contrast between the sylb and the sylf in their adaptation to two different teaching climates, and it suggests ways in which teachers succeed or fail at channelling the efforts of syllabus-bound and free girls from unacademic cliques. Two extracts from my field-notes follow, which reveal the contrasts between the girls' behaviours.

Biology

4 & 5/Tu/3. 'Lesson starts with everyone looking at the results of the experiment they did last time. Nancy and Yvonne's leaf discs have dried out - experiment written off as a failure. ....Start new work ....Yvonne asks for guidance (QDSP), passes Mrs Linnaeus's answer on to Alexandra, who passes it to Monica who disagrees, Yvonne asks Mrs L. again

(QDSP) ... (Few minutes later) Yvonne again asks Mrs L. for help (QDSP) and is told off for "fussing" ... (Later) all pairs doing second experiment or writing it up - Nancy and Yvonne still struggling with the first one ... (Later) Nancy and Yvonne now writing up, leaving second experiment to boil ... Nancy and Yvonne's experiment about to boil over ...'

Chemistry 'B' Set

1 & 2/F/4. 'Going over questions done for prep ... Nancy did wrong element...sent to look at the salts they made yesterday, told to finish off anything not done...Yvonne asks for extra instructions (QDSP) ...Alexandra and Philippa only two in overalls...working in pairs, Nancy and Vanessa are one group, Yvonne with Louise. ... (Later) ... All pottering around checking previous salts and redoing failures...(Later) ...going over results, Yvonne asks for help in method used (QDSP)...Philippa vols. - right; Yvonne vols. - right; Philippa asked - right; Yvonne vols. - right; Yvonne asks for re-capitulation (QDSF)...Brought up to front bench to watch acid on lead compounds...back to seats... Yvonne vols. - right; causes dissension...turn to stencil on methods, Clare and Yvonne have lost theirs, get new ones - all filling in the gaps ... (Later) now covering solubility of salts Vanessa vols. - right; Yvonne vols. - right; ...Yvonne asks for help twice (QDSP) Sharon asks for extra material (QEI) gets digression ... Yvonne vols. - wrong; ...Gives them ten minutes to start prep...Yvonne, Nancy, Vanessa and Gale nattering...Yvonne asks for help (QDSP)...'

Chemistry

7 & 8/W/2. 'Philippa and Alexandra only two in overalls. Nancy works with Vanessa and Yvonne doing experiments - .... (later) ... Nancy's group have got behind - by miles, only done three of the six alkaline solutions .... Yvonne drags Nancy back to do one experiment ... (later) Yvonne shows the results to Miss D. They have got them right.'

There are clear contrasts here, both between Yvonne's behaviour in the two subjects, and between Yvonne and Nancy. Both girls are more organised and successful in Chemistry than they are in Biology, though in both cases Yvonne is better organised and more successful than Nancy.

These differences throw light on certain problems facing teachers in the 'management' of potentially disruptive cliques. Miss Dalton is clearly more successful than Mrs Linnaeus at handling the members of Clique 2 in the laboratory, and this is due very largely to her 'use' of Yvonne. Mrs Linnaeus based her lessons upon the assumption that if the girls did experiments with the minimum of guidance, the 'correct' results would be achieved by enough of them for the 'correct' conclusions to be deduced. This theory can be challenged directly - as Michelle does - or sabotaged, as it was in the case of the set containing Nancy and Yvonne, when the experiments failed to produce results. In almost every Biology lesson I observed Nancy, Vanessa, Louise and Yvonne managed to spoil at least one of their experiments,

through misunderstanding the method, or through carelessness in following it. (There was no text book or work-sheets in Biology which could be used.) Miss Dalton operated with a much more closely structured lesson system, based on stencilled work-sheets, which enabled Yvonne at least to get the experiments going 'properly'.

Miss Dalton also answered all Yvonne's queries and requests for help patiently, and in return, Yvonne organised her friends so that the practical work was completed successfully. She could not do the same in Biology, because she lacked the guidelines, and when she tried to obtain them by asking Mrs Linnaeus, she was likely to be told to 'stop fussing'. One might imagine that the sylfs among her friends, Vannessa and Nancy, could adapt to Mrs Linnaeus's methods and 'carry' Yvonne through her uncertainty, but this had not happened. In Miss Dalton's class the members of Clique 2 experienced success (in the half-term test several members of the 'A' set received worse marks than the lowest person in the 'B' set), partly because Miss Dalton had succeeded in 'harnessing' Yvonne's study-habits. In Biology the group experienced humiliation and failure, and Yvonne's conformist and potentially 'positive' qualities had not been realised.

Summary

To summarise, Nancy and Yvonne can be contrasted in several ways, yet they have strong similarities as well.

They were both relatively unsuccessful in terms of their school work, belonged to the same clique, and shared leisure interests and school clubs. Both girls were taking sciences as their 'O' grade options, and both hoped to work in a socially useful job after school. Their physical appearance and personal fronts differed markedly, however, with Yvonne tidy and 'respectable', Nancy careless and 'slovenly'. Their work-styles were equally distinct, with Yvonne a highly conscientious sylb, and Nancy a non-conscientious sylf. Their classroom speech profiles are sharply distinguished too - Nancy having large scores for independent moves while Yvonne's made none. Nancy was frequently reprimanded, either directly, or via comments like those quoted in the extracts from Miss Newton's Maths classes (above), while Yvonne, apart from occasional remarks made by Mrs French, is rarely criticised by the staff.

In contrast to the two academically successful girls compared above, Nancy and Yvonne support the hypotheses made about attitudes to teaching styles among sylbs and sylfs, as well as those hypotheses about actual behaviour in the classroom. Thus, Nancy is happier with very unstructured teaching than Yvonne, while this was not shown to be true of Michelle. Nancy and Yvonne are also interesting because they show clearly how the effects of setting are not as thoroughgoing as those of streaming, and how any effects which do result from the formal organisation are not straightforward but vary in intensity according to the individual's prevailing pattern of study.

CHAPTER 10

THE INTEGRATION: A WORKING RELATIONSHIP

A Symbolic Interactionist Approach to the Classroom

> 'Some scientific theories are systematically stated and empirically buttressed by their innovators. Others grow crescively, with an idea here, a magnificent but partial formulation there, a little study here, a program of specialized studies there. The interactionist theory in sociology and social psychology belongs in the latter category.'
>
> (Rose, 1962 p. vii)

Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis and discussion of classroom processes by integrating the diverse themes which have been presented in the thesis. The necessity for such an integration stems from two features of the research: methodological eclecticism and the changing conception of conformity. The arguments for these research strategies are recapitulated first. Then, in the light of the data from preceding chapters and a brief critique of existing educational literature, the need for a new frame of analysis is made clear. The particular explanatory scheme chosen is then discussed in some detail, and illustrated by incidents from classroom life at St Luke's.

Triangulation

Chapter 1 discussed the methods used for the research, emphasising the three different 'traditions' from which they came. These methods - 'paper and pencil' techniques, and two types of observation, systematic and unstructured, were compared, their interrelationships discussed, and empirical reasons for their use in this research advanced. Brief mention was made of the different 'schools of thought' which have used the techniques - how 'paper and pencil' measures are the cornerstone of much educational psychology and sociology; how the two observational methods have grown up in different centres, in mutual isolation, recruiting from different disciplines.(1)

What was not explored in the early chapters, however, were the consequences for the established theoretical and historical boundaries of educational research when one 'plundered' aspects of their methods on a pragmatic basis, in order to study a neglected substantive area. This chapter tackles this omission, but in doing so theoretical issues of considerable moment are inevitably raised. These concern the extent to which concentrating upon a neglected substantive topic renders the traditional boundaries of different fields problematic, instead of taken for granted.

(1) Interestingly, unstructured observation has been practised by 'renegade' experimental psychologists such as Louis Smith, Parlett and Jackson, as well as by the symbolic interactionists; while systematic techniques have been the preserve of social psychologists from the major American traditions - Bales and the 'mental hygiene' school.

In this chapter I want to suggest that the conventional limits of the various sub-divisions of educational research are, in fact, a barrier to the understanding of the process of interactions in the classroom. The very fact that a deep understanding of the classroom lives of the St Luke's sample needed a 'triangulation' of methods, drawn from different, mutually hostile areas, is itself an attack upon the hostility of those areas.

The Theme of Conformity

As Chapters 1 and 2 explained, the idea of conformity, which forms the underlying theme of the thesis, became a more wide ranging concept as the research progressed. At the outset academic conformity was equated with a dimension (the sylb/sylf dichotomy) which, though it might be better understood when seen in the context of such variables as 'teacher style' and 'institutional control', would not itself be affected by them. Observation in schools soon overthrew this simplistic conceptualisation. The separation of work-style and context was obviously an oversimplification. Pupils' decisions about their academic strategies were clearly the result of multiple influences. Pupils' approaches to their work derived from their perceptions of school subjects and teachers, and were strongly influenced by their peer-group membership and home background. To relegate these features to 'context' was to fail to understand that 'work-styles' were the outcomes of pupils' responses to their understandings of particular situations.

This broadening notion of the constituents of academic conformity, and the need for an eclectic methodology, (outlined above) are, implicitly, attacks on the traditional boundaries between different kinds of educational research. We have, therefore, two strong indications that a new approach to classroom processes is necessary. However, there is a third indication, of a more theoretical nature, which must be briefly mentioned before the new approach is discussed - the uneven coverage of classroom phenomena found in the published literature on education.

Literary Lacunae

A critical overview of the educational research literature shows that, because there has been an unnecessarily narrow interpretation of what constitutes appropriate research in educational psychology and sociology, the coverage of issues relating to the classroom has been very uneven. In a recent paper (Delamont, 1973) I analysed those aspects of the traditional educational literature which were relevant to an understanding of the classroom. The resulting synthesis is shown in schematic form in Table 10:1. The table shows a set of headings under which those sectors of conventional research pertaining to the classroom can best be assimilated. Topics covered by both sociological and psychological researchers, are labelled accordingly,

TABLE 10:1

Literary Lacunae: The Uneven Coverage of the Classroom

SET 1. External Constraints

1. The Physical Setting
2a. The Manifest Curriculum
b. The Hidden Curriculum
3. The Historical Background

SET 2. The Teacher

1. 'Personality' and Opinions - (Psychology)
2. Social and Professional Role (Social psychology and Sociology)
3. Background and personal history (Sociology)
4. Friendship group(1)
5. Perception of appropriate pupil roles
6. Personal front
7. Teaching style (Interaction Analysts)

SET 3. The Pupil

1. Home background (Sociology)
2. 'Personality' Traits (Psychology)
3. Study Habits
4. Ability (IQ), Achievement and past record (Psychology)
5. Peer group (Sociology)

(1) Elements without a bracketed label are those which have been largely neglected in traditional research projects.

Table 10:1 (Continued)

SET 3.

6. Linguistic Abilities (Sociologists)
7. 'Motivation' (Psychology)
8. Personal Front
9. Perception of Pupil Role
10. Classroom style

SET 4. Classroom Phenomena in the Literature

1. Classroom climate research (Social Psychology)
2. Systematic classroom observation (Psychology)

while other headings, lacking a 'specialist label' indicate topics which have been largely neglected.(2) This formulation, though speculative, is, I think, revealing. It is clear from the table that few topics have been studied by authors from more than one school of thought; and also that the traditional literature does not allow for any form of social change or development in classroom relations. The new approach which follows not only allows for social change but also for multiple perspectives. It also encompasses the material presented in the thesis more economically and more meaningfully.

THE NEW APPROACH: A WORKING RELATIONSHIP

Throughout the course of this thesis the focus has shifted. At various points I have discussed the pupils in small and large groups, and as individuals, and likewise the staff have been considered as a whole, and via detailed descriptions of individuals with their pupils. The purpose of the remainder of this chapter is to indicate how the insights gained from the various foci of study can be synthesised to produce a general understanding of classroom work.

(2) Many of the topics neglected by conventional research have been discussed by writers outside the mainstream of educational publication - the works of Louis Smith (1968, 1971), Jackson (1968), Peterson (1964), Hamilton (1971, forthcoming), Walker and Adelman (1972) and the Open University Education teams (e.g. Young, 1971 and Cosin et al, 1971) tackle many of the neglected topics, often for the first time.

In this synthesis the daily 'give-and-take' of classroom life will be seen as a process whereby teachers and pupils come to form 'working relationships'. The process by which this is accomplished is one of negotiation - negotiation through which the everyday reality of the classroom is constantly being defined and redefined.

The idea of negotiation as used here stems from the work of Strauss and his associates on psychiatric hospitals. They show how the various members of the hospital staff, drawn from different professional groups and giving allegiance to different occupational 'ideologies' produce a working consensus through a continuous process of informal compromise and bargaining, (Strauss et al., 1964). Thus, in addition to the formal rules and obligations of the organisation (and often running counter to them) people negotiate their daily interactions through tacit rules, agreements and informal 'standing arrangements'.

The changing patterns of classroom life are likewise socially constructed in the course of encounters between teachers and pupils, and are constantly subject to negotiation, and renegotiation, over time. Chapter 3 discussed how St Luke's, unusually for a girls' school, has broad areas of school life entirely regulated by tacit rules rather than formal prescriptions. It was pointed out that there are two main spheres wherein such rules are negotiated - the 'public' domain of the school, and the 'private' domain of the enclosed classroom. It is with the latter sphere of negotiation that this chapter is primarily concerned.

In order to understand the outcomes of negotiations, and how they are conducted we need to consider a number of features as follows:

a) the <u>setting</u> of the interaction;
b) the <u>resources</u> that each side brings to bear or 'mobilises';
c) the <u>perspectives</u> that the interactants bring to the situation, which serve as frames of reference by which the situation is defined;
d) the <u>strategies</u> they employ to accomplish successfully negotiated outcomes.

These should not be seen either as mutually exclusive categories into which phenomena must be fitted, nor as exhausting all the possible analyses of classroom events. Rather they are a useful way of summarising a general approach to the same problem, viz. - how people set about construing their shared world, and acting upon that construction.

The classroom must also be seen as situated in time - so that, for example, classroom interaction can be conceived as the intersection of pupils' careers and the teacher's career.(3) In this way the analysis can begin to take account of temporal factors - in contrast to the traditional formulations, which as Table 10:1 shows, are marked by a neglect of historical factors. Using the

(3) The term career, as it is used here, implies not simply change and promotion through an occupational structure. Rather it relates to the broader notion of changes in personal status and identity over time. This meaning of the term has been used primarily in studies of hospitals and their patients - for example in Goffman (1968); Strauss et al (1964); and Roth (1962).

concept of the pupil's career enables one to emphasise the continuities between plans and objectives for the future and current activities. Thus the material on job and further education plans, presented in Chapter 5, is seen as an element not only in subject choices, but also in pupil decisions about classroom events. (The 'incidents' from a Biology lesson given below are a case in point.)

Viewing the classroom process as something which occurs in time allows the observer to consider the generation of shared meanings among groups of pupils, or between pupils and individual teachers. This aspect of classroom interaction cannot be considered in traditional experiments, or in studies using systematic observation, yet it is, as the work of Walker and Adelman (1972) has shown, a prominent feature of much classroom life. To understand classroom interaction some knowledge of its historical context is essential.(4)

THE SETTING OF THE INTERACTION

The term 'setting' is used here, deliberately, as a general title for all the various elements making up an institutional context. This usage, which follows Strauss's

(4) One aspect of the importance of shared perspectives at St Luke's was the existence of the boarders - girls who lived together as an enclave within the wider school society. As Karen put it: 'Being in the boarding house isolates you completely as a junior - it wears off a bit when you get up the school.'

work on 'ideologies and institutions' (Strauss et al; 1964) could be seen as approximately equivalent to the 'ecology' of the interaction. Setting used in this way comprises the formal organisation of the school; the social and educational context of classroom life; and the physical surroundings in which they take place. For convenience, three sub-headings are used, to cover these three different, but closely related, aspects: the 'institutional', 'educational' and 'physical' settings.

The 'Institutional' Setting

This aspect of the setting for classroom events refers to its background in the whole school. The school is itself seen as being organised round a set of on-going negotiations - negotiations which result in policies which are reaffirmed, altered, or 'lived with' as an integral part of the daily life of the school. A school such as St Luke's has, for example, policies about topics like admissions, assessment, streaming or setting, and attendance. The official policies, though codified, will always be subject to negotiation - for instance, decisions have to be taken about whether a girl's academic performance is so good she should be promoted ahead of her age-group, or so bad that her parents should be asked to take her away, or merely adequate for her current allocation to subject sets. Should a ballet exam be considered an adequate excuse for a girl to be absent? What is an appropriate sanction for

a girl who 'cuts' games? Are white knee-socks acceptable wear for tennis? Members of any institution have to negotiate such matters constantly - and such negotiations affect the classroom interactions of teachers and pupils because they are a prevalent, and often unremarked, feature of their institutional background.

Chapter 3 discussed some prominent features of the institutional setting as it exists at St Luke's. The rules about conduct in the public arena of the school were contrasted with the ad hoc conventions which apply in the private classroom. The status of the school, socially and historically, was shown to be related to the types of rule which are applied in the two contexts: staff were seen as emphasising the academic side of their roles rather than the custodial aspects, for example.

The relation between such factors and the educational concerns of the school may seem tenuous. In fact the links between the two types of setting - the institutional and the educational - are close. The apparent discontinuity is largely due to a lack of research that stresses the continuities and allows us to appreciate the links which exist. It is only with the publication of a recent paper (Bernstein; 1971) that connections between the spheres become noticeable, or acceptable as appropriate subjects for educational analyses.

The 'Educational' Setting

In this sphere there are again policies and rules which are subject to continued negotiations. The educational policies relate to such issues as the curricula to be studied, the form of assessment; the texts and resources which should be provided; and the appropriate qualifications for staff. The issues involved here form what Parlett and Hamilton (1972) have termed the 'instructional system'. Here again the formal, codified, rules of St Luke's, laid down in the prospectus and official hand-outs can be contrasted with the negotiated decisions taken concerning individual girls.(5) Decisions about specialisation were discussed in Chapter 5 with the official policy of the school - ('Girls who specialise in languages start Greek or German or Spanish.') - being translated into the 'concensus' opinion of the staff - ('Girls who take German must take Latin.') - and finally reaching the individual girl - ('I wanted to do German but....'.)

Chapters 3 and 5 also showed connections between features of the educational setting and aspects of the institutional setting; such as the feminist tradition still existing at St Luke's, encouraging professional career ambitions and the university associations giving an

(5) An example of this contrast involved Lorna. The school policy states that 'all girls' should take both History and Geography to 'O' grade. However, I discovered that Miss Dale had privately approached Lorna, and told her not to come to Geography classes, as she had 'no hope' of passing the subject. Lorna had, therefore, three 'unofficial' free periods each week.

academic perspective stretching beyond the school.

At the level of the classroom the educational setting has two distinct aspects: the manifest curriculum and the hidden curriculum. The manifest curriculum comprises all the explicitly defined constituents of the academic syllabus the teacher is obliged, by the school or a public examination body, to teach. The effects of the public examination syllabus upon classroom teaching are strong in a school like St Luke's - as Chapter 2 made clear.

The reverse side of the manifest curriculum is what Snyder (1971) has termed the 'hidden curriculum'.(6) In the classroom, the hidden curriculum covers such issues as the teacher's non-explicit definitions of what constitutes 'relevant' discussion; of which science experiments are a 'waste of time' and which 'worth doing'; of which parts of the text book should be read; or of what notes should be dictated. An incident from a Geography lesson, discussed below, addresses the topic of discovering the teacher's definitions of relevance.

(6) Snyder defines the 'hidden curriculum' in a wider sense than the classroom - comprising all the implicit 'rules of the game' which students have to master in order to survive in a college environment. This usage of Snyder's is an approach parallel to that of Becker's studies in higher education. (Becker et al; 1961 & 1968.) Work on the hidden curriculum in schools is mainly novelistic in form - the work of Holt (1964) and Kozol (1967) comes to mind.

It has been pointed out to me that Ivan Illich uses the same term to cover all the aspects of western education he dislikes - particularly the dread plagues of American Capitalism and the Protestant Ethic. This usage is not implied here.

The 'Physical' Setting

This aspect of setting approximates to the term as used by Goffman (1959), already discussed in relation to two St Luke's teachers in Chapter 8. There are two ways in which physical settings affect the classroom: the spatial relations between the specific classroom being studied and the rest of the institution; and the actual lay-out and decor of the classroom itself.(7) At St Luke's the latter aspect was a more prominent variable in classroom interactions. (See also, Delamont; 1972a.) The physical setting in which a mistress teaches at St Luke's carries implications about her status in the school (an institutional feature) and about her subject (an educational feature). Two examples will suffice. Firstly, all science teaching during my fieldwork occurred in laboratories; there were no 'theory' lessons taught in ordinary classrooms. This implies a commitment to the current SED science syllabuses, which state that theory and practice should be integrated, for all science lessons take place with experimental apparatus available. Secondly, the status of teachers at St Luke's is closely

(7) Hamilton (1971) discusses some educational and organisational effects of teaching in annexes, separated from the main school buildings. Smith and Keith (1971) have written about the far-reaching implications of an architecturally revolutionary elementary school. Walker and Adelman (1972) have discussed the implications of the open-plan school. Otherwise, this aspect of schools has been largely neglected, except by Barker, (see Barker and Gump, 1964).

related to room allocation. Mrs Bruce, who was new to the school at the time of my field-work, had no room allocated for all her classes, and had to teach in any spare classroom. Not only that - all the History resources (books, historical atlases, maps, visual aids etc.) were stored in the History Room - under Mrs Flodden's surveillance. This meant that Mrs Bruce could not change her lesson plans, or use additional materials, except when she had previously organised herself for the possibility. Flexibility and spontaneity were more difficult for her.

THE RESOURCES BROUGHT TO CLASSROOM SITUATIONS

Social scientists who attempt to characterise social phenomena in terms of negotiations can easily slip into assuming that all parties to any given negotiation have equal resources at their disposal. Workers on hospitals may discuss the doctor-nurse relationship as a result of a negotiation between equal partners, when this is clearly not the case. The resources brought to the classroom by staff and pupils are rarely equal, and so must be considered separately.

The Teacher's Resources

The teacher's strength is drawn from two sources: the personal and professional attributes of her role and

the institutional status she represents. A teacher's position in the wider institution can be a source of power - Barker-Lunn's (1970) finding that many senior teachers in primary schools taught only 'A' streams is an example. The complex interrelationships of custodial and academic duties in the school and in the classroom were discussed in Chapter 3 - and the links with access to physical settings are made above.

In a school like St Luke's the teacher's most potent resource is her access to, and control of, knowledge. The teacher has the knowledge, and she defines what the pupils are to learn - within the confines of the published syllabus. Her professional status invests her with power over the selection of knowledge; the manner in which it is transmitted and learnt; and the right to assess the pupils'performance at the tasks she has set.

We have seen that the school curriculum has two aspects - the manifest and the hidden. The teacher has control over both; but particularly over the latter, for it is not publicly accountable. The teacher's definitions of what is, and is not 'relevant' to her subject can be seen in the discussion of an incident from a Geography lesson

given below.(8) Teachers as a group have the right to monitor pupils' speech - both its form and content - a rare situation in everyday life, (see Stubbs, 1972).

The teacher also has the powerful resource of legitimate sanctions in the academic and the custodial sphere. The disciplinary aspects of the St Luke's staff roles have been discussed in Chapter 3. The sanction of assessment, when linked to control over knowledge, is particularly relevant at St Luke's; especially when the teacher is free to assess, and sanction, pupil achievement in both manifest and hidden areas of the curriculum. The teacher can set the standard, and assess how the girls measure up to it.

Schools give teachers another powerful resource for their negotiations with girls - the right of access to 'guilty knowledge'. Teachers are allowed, or expected to have access to knowledge about pupils' IQ scores or reading quotients; to other teachers' opinions of them;

(8) Bellack and his collaborators (1966) report a striking instance of the control teachers expect to exert over knowledge. Bellack wanted to carry out an experiment on speech patterns in the classroom with the subject matter being taught as one of his controlled variables. Accordingly he gave his sample of teachers a pamphlet on an economic topic which was to be the subject matter of their lessons during his experiment. When he analysed his data he found that the teachers had been extremely cavalier in their treatment of the pamphlet - their emphasis on different aspects, and their degree of coverage, varied enormously. Bellack was forced to conclude that, although subject matter was one of his 'controlled' variables in theory, in the event the teachers had taken it over completely.

to confidential information about their families.(9) Even trivial pieces of information can serve to enhance status in negotiations - for example, in the type of boys' school where only surnames are used, masters will still have access to pupils' christian names, but it is only in the most progressive schools that pupils are allowed access to staff christian names.

Features of the teacher's personal life, her past experiences and her friends inside and outside the school may serve as resources. In a girls' school being married may be a potent resource - as the analysis of the two English staff showed. The staffroom clique to which a teacher belongs can be an important factor in balancing the isolation of the private classroom - particularly when all the staff of a school are not united in their views of the world. The sense of isolation felt by teachers like Moody (1968) and Kozol (1967) discussed in Chapter 3 is not as acute if even one other staff member shares the feelings about discipline or uniform or whatever. The strength which a teacher can draw from her own past experience is vividly captured in Peterson's (1964) interviews with long-

(9) There were two examples of this during my field-work. Sharon's mother was dead, and at the time of my research her young step-mother was having a baby. Staff members discussed this, and decided to 'go easy' on Sharon in class because of the 'upsetting' nature of this event. They in no way abrogated their power to reprimand her for her classroom behaviour - which was noisy and disruptive - but, without making the reason explicit to her, chose not to use their power. Another girl's parents were thought to be getting divorced, and a similar abrogation occurred.

serving teachers. At St Luke's staff gained status by such experiences as having done a Ph.D. or been on a university staff with some girls; while for others 'having a full life outside the school' was a more salient variable.(10)

The Pupil's Resources

The nature and potency of the resources pupils bring to any classroom situation vary enormously from one type of school to another. The bargaining for marks discussed by Werthman (1963) among negro gang members in California and that described in the Geography class (below) are, however, only different aspects of the same phenomenon - classroom negotiation. The extent to which the members of a class can or will combine together against the teacher is also an important variable. The experiment described in Chapter 6 in which Klein (1971) organised collaboration in a lecture audience and produced large changes in the lecturer's speech patterns is a vivid, if contrived, demonstration of this power.

In this discussion I intend to concentrate on the resources brought to classrooms at St Luke's where the

(10) Mrs Cavendish's idiosyncratic style of Physics teaching, discussed in Chapter 9 and in Delamont (1972a), has obvious links with her background in university Physics - though the sample I studied would not have described this background as a source of power, as they disliked her teaching, senior girls in the school saw the link.

girls have some unusual skills and types of knowledge which go some way to explaining the nature of classroom life at the school. Certainly one of the girls' most potent sources of bargaining power is their family background. The girls at St Luke's come from the same, or even a higher, social strata than their teachers. Their parents may well have more money, and some have more academic status. Two things follow. The teachers do not have to emphasise the 'making ladies' aspect of girls' schools, as discussed in Chapter 3. This means there is less negotiation about matters of dress, deportment and speech. On the other hand, as a fee-paying school, the teachers are directly employed by the girls' families - as Jill commented on Miss Iliad's classes: 'You never stop for a moment - at least you feel your parents are getting their money's worth'.

All the girls at St Luke's had, potentially, the resource of a <u>reputation</u> which could travel before them into any lesson. There are two main aspects to a pupil's reputation - her ability and her effort. A girl with a reputation in the staffroom for being clever and gaining good marks will have certain advantages. Keddie (1971) has discussed the different attention given to pupil questions in the various streams of a secondary school according to whether teachers saw the pupil as clever or not. The girl who has a reputation for ability may not only have her contributions sifted for meaning more carefully; she may be an essential resource for the teacher. When discussing

Miss Paris's likes and dislikes, Karen told me ..'She used to dote on Mandy before she left - Mandy always had the right answers if no-one else did. Now she's gone she relies on Evelyn and Selina. She likes them now'. The position of the girl who can be relied on for right answers in a rapid section of the lesson is secure - she can take liberties denied to other girls.(11)

The alternative reputation which serves as a powerful resource is a compensatory one - the girl who though 'not very bright' is seen as 'trying hard' and/or as a 'nice, willing girl'. Janice, whose profile is presented in Appendix 5, is a typical example of a girl who has created such a reputation at St Luke's. That these two types of reputation, academic and compensatory, were bargaining counters for the girls vis-a-vis their staff, was recognised by the girls themselves, as Chapter 5 made clear.(12)

Pupils do not, of course, normally have access to information about the private lives of their teachers -

(11) Henrietta served this function for Mrs Flodden - I discuss this relationship below.
(12) The reverse side of this is a bad reputation - leading to being 'picked on' all the time. Girls were aware of the dangers of acquiring such a reputation. Katherine told me at some length about an altercation with a staff member (not included in my observation sample) who had a name for being a strict disciplinarian. This teacher objected to Katherine giving her cottage pie to Lorraine one lunch time. Katherine made the following comment: 'I felt like saying "Would you rather it went to the pigs?" but you can't rebel against one teacher, because if you do <u>all</u> the teachers are against you because you're rebellious'.

they do not have equivalent 'guilty knowledge'.(13) However, the St Luke's girls were unusually placed, in that some of them had, through connections with the universities in Edinburgh, access to knowledge about the staff, and their university connections. There were two sides to this. One teacher at St Luke's was married to a professor who received membership of the Royal Society during my field-work. All the girls in Clique 5 with family links to the university knew this, and it spread round the whole year as a piece of gossip. It was not useful, or even very relevant, but it was interesting. Other matters were more personal. Henrietta's family background was evident in her judgement of Mrs Hill - 'She knows her facts, but she's not what I call an intellectual - And I like to be taught by people with more intellect than me'. Henrietta's behaviour in Geography classes is obviously affected by such a belief.

THE PARTICIPANTS' PERSPECTIVES

The notion of 'perspectives' has been widely employed in recent sociological studies of professional socialisation and higher education; and before discussing

(13) Torode (forthcoming) describes a class of boys 'deciding' that their Maths master had got married, on the basis of a change in his behaviour towards them. In fact, no change in his private life had occurred, as far as Torode could discover.

its usefulness for understanding classroom events at St Luke's a brief mention of the different emphases which the word carries for the major writers in the field.

Briefly, the two sets of meanings available stem from Becker and his collaborators, (1968) and from Shibutani (1955). Becker's use of the term, as he explains it in Making the Grade, is wider. For Becker student 'perspectives' include their 'definition of the situation', appropriate activities to engage in, and their 'criteria of judgement'. Shibutani limits his definition of a perspective to something approaching the conventional social-psychological concept of an attitude: 'A perspective is an ordered view of one's world - what is taken for granted about the attributes of various objects, events and human nature... The fact that men have such ordered perspectives enables them to conceive of their changing world as relatively stable, orderly and predictable.' (1955). Thus, for Becker 'perspectives' include actions, while for Shibutani, they merely imply them.

For the purposes of this discussion I am taking 'perspectives' to imply an ordered set of beliefs and orientations; within which, or by reference to which, situations in the school are defined and construed by teachers and pupils. Perspectives in this sense imply courses of action - appropriate activities - which are here called strategies. Used in this way the term 'perspectives' encompases many traditional preoccupations of educational

research - such as the voluminous work on teachers' perceptions of their role and their educational attitudes. In addition, some aspects of the literature on 'personality' become relevant. As with the resources mobilised for the classroom, perspectives are best considered separately for the teacher and the girls.

The Teacher's Perspectives

The perspectives by which teachers order their classroom interactions with pupils are heavily influenced by their reference groups. This term, also common in social psychology, is used here to mean the group of people whose perspective constitutes the actor's frame of reference.(14)

The staff of St Luke's have a variety of reference groups in this sense of the term. The two most prominent are first, other elite teachers of all subjects at St Luke's and second, other specialists in their academic discipline at school and university levels. Within the former group is found the teacher's friendship circle, as opposed to all other members of staff; at the latter level all members of

(14) This usage, which again follows Shibutani, explicitly excludes two other possible meanings of the term 'reference group' - the meaning which refers to a group which the actor uses to make comparisons or contrasts (e.g. 'Cracker whites' vis-a-vis negroes, or non-graduate teachers vis-a-vis graduate ones); or the usage which covers groups to which the actor aspires (e.g. the Bennington study - Newcombe; 1947).

a department (e.g. Maths, Sciences or Classics) and their links to other specialists in that subject in Edinburgh.

Mrs Cavendish provides a good example of these overlapping reference groups. In the staff room she associated with other teachers of her age, mostly married, who liked their children to be fashionably dressed and approved of pop music and dancing as activities suitable for teenagers. This group was opposed both to other older teachers, married and unmarried, who still participated in a social life similar to their pupils. However, Mrs Cavendish also shared many beliefs with the other science staff, whose social groups were different, about departmental matters. Then she also had a strong orientation towards the university community, and organised her teaching with that 'audience' in view.(15)

Teachers' perspectives on legitimate classroom behaviour for themselves and for pupils come from two sources: formal pedagogy and 'experience'. That the two sets of perspectives may conflict is a well-worn theme of educational writing. Jackson's (1968) interviews with

(15) Mrs Cavendish's rationale for her idiosyncratic teaching style was explicitly university-oriented. She explained to me that unless the girls learnt how to be independent, and work unaided at school, they faced problems on university science courses where supervision was 'non-existent'. She believed in 'throwing them in at the deep end'. She knew that some girls could not manage to work this way, but felt these pupils 'shouldn't really be doing Physics anyway'. The others might not like it, but they would understand later why she had done it, and be grateful. No-one at the university was going to come to her complaining her pupils had been 'spoonfed'.

outstanding teachers showed how little of the formal pedagogy they had been taught was evident in conversations about their work in the classroom. Shipman (1967) discussed how the perspectives of probationary teachers change, during their first year's experience, from reflecting the perspectives of their college lecturers to echoing those of the experienced teachers in their schools.

The attitudes and personality of the teacher, or intending teacher, is one of the largest areas of educational research. Yet recent reviews of this vast and unwieldy volume of literature, such as Morrison and McIntyre (1969) are forced to conclude that no clear links have been established between these variables and pupil achievement or classroom behaviour in general. Common findings of research with attitude inventories or personality tests suggests that teachers are more likely to rate personal relations above economic gain. However, if one puts an interactionist gloss on such findings, they are interpretable as teachers' accounts of the degree of fit between their selves and their profession - and as such could not be expected to have any clear relation to classroom strategies.

The Pupil's Perspectives

Pupil perspectives are related to their reference groups. In many schools pupils from different social class backgrounds will share perspectives on classroom phenomena which will lead them to interpret and react to

the same events in very different ways, (Swift, 1968 & 1969). At St Luke's the shared perspectives of the sub-groups were not based on different social class backgrounds, but on factors related to family life style and out-of-school activities. Chapters 4 and 5 discussed these factors and their relationship to the girls' academic outlook: for example the definitions of what were and were not appropriate matters for disciplinary action by staff given by girls in Clique 2, (those involved in 'teenage' activities). These girls saw a distinction between matters academic - the proper concern of teachers; and personal - 'it was nothing to do with my French'. Such beliefs make the task of any member of staff who wants to encourage discussion on personal matters in her classes very difficult, as Chapter 8 discussed.

Morrison and McIntyre (1969) see the formation and survival of voluntary groups among pupils as a way in which the individual can develop and organise shared perspectives. The cliques formed by my sample can be seen to have this function, with one exception - the boarders. The girls in Clique 1 are an interesting example of a 'coping' behaviour. They are organised into a group by the school, and once put together, have developed shared strategies for living together. The most striking was participation in sport. Every year the boarding house won all the school sports trophies, and boarders made up the backbone of all school teams. Playing games served to unite them. Boarders

were able to practice all sports outside school hours, so they became very good. Also, playing in teams got them away from the school in a socially sanctioned way - games served as a unifying focus and an escape route

In addition to the shared perspectives of sub-groups, the thesis has discussed the common perspectives of the whole sample. A selection of individual perspectives are a key part of the profiles of eight girls presented in Chapter 9 and Appendix 5. Material on one aspect of the individual's scholastic beliefs was collected with the sylb/sylf inventory; the only 'paper and pencil' measure to be featured at any length in the study. Little emphasis has been placed on other standardised measures of pupil attitude or personality. This lack of emphasis was deliberate. Just as many of the studies of personality and attitudes among teachers have little relevance to classroom events so, too, the vast educational literature on personality correlates of pupil performance is disappointing - especially at the individual level. Many studies show correlations at the level of the large sample, but few predict individual behaviour.(16)

(16) Kapur's (1970) recent study is a case in point. He attempted to predict first year 'drop-out' with a battery of psychological tests. However, to include all the individuals who formed the 16% of drop-outs within his 'danger zone' according to their scores, he was forced to classify 40% of the first year as being 'at risk'. In other words he had a 25% over-kill.

Articles such as Entwistle and Welsh (1969); Wilson (1972) and Delamont (1972b) reveal the complexity and confusion which characterise the field at present.

CLASSROOM STRATEGIES

The definition of a perspective given above separates the actor's beliefs (the perspectives) from the actions he considers appropriate according to that set of beliefs. The notion that actors have both resources and perspectives implies that actions could, or will, occur. Those actions which do take place are here called strategies. The underlying theme of this chapter is that classroom encounters are best understood as a series of on-going negotiations. Just as the term 'negotiation' implies that the actors are not necessarily in accord, so the term 'strategy' implies the possibility of disagreements and compromises.

The most famous studies of perspectives and strategies in educational settings (Becker et al, 1961 & 1968) consider them in a narrow sense. For Becker and his collaborators the important aspects of student perspectives are those held in common by the whole student body. This thesis, while it has discussed the perspectives of all the girls or all the staff, has also distinguished differences between the perspectives of various sub-groups. The diversification of perspectives, among sub-groups and individuals, existing alongside perspectives held by the whole sample, implies a variety of classroom strategies.

The particular focus of this study is the perspectives and strategies associated with conformity to, or with breaking, the sets of rules or norms concerning

appropriate classroom behaviour. Starting from two polar types of reaction to intellectual authority among pupils, the scope has widened to consider the pupils' level and direction of contribution in the classroom. In other words we have moved from considering perspective alone to the relationship between perspective and strategy.

Speech strategies of teachers and pupils are the main topic considered in Chapters 6 to 9, but the interactionist interpretation of these, as used in this chapter, was not made explicit. In order to make such an interpretation explicit some of the main findings of Chapter 7 are recapitulated below, expressed in the terms of the interaction analysts first, with an interactionist expression following. We discover how the findings of interaction analysis can be understood in terms of classroom strategies.

Some Findings from Systematic Observation

Finding 1 At St Luke's the staff talk at least twice, and sometimes three or four times, as much as all the pupils put together.

Interpretation The teacher's first strategy is simple - she dominates the interaction by speaking most of the time.

Finding 2 At St Luke's approximately 50% of the teachers' speech is coded in the 'content-cross' - that is, it is lecturing and questioning pupils about the academic content of the lesson.

Interpretation Another teacher strategy is to impose her definition of the subject matter on the class. This is done by emphasising her version of the subject (by lecturing and quizzing pupils) and playing down alternative pupil versions, by making relatively little use of pupil's ideas and neither praising nor criticising them.

Finding 3 At St Luke's approximately 80% of pupil contributions are accepted rather than rejected.

Interpretation The pupils have internalised the teachers' situational definitions. Their prime strategy is to provide acceptable answers to teacher questions.

This interpretation applies to the first group finding with the pupil talk system as well.

Finding 4 The pupils as a whole make twice as many contributions which are directly relevant to the academic content of the lesson as they make contributions tangential to it.

Finding 5 The average classroom at St Luke's produces 24 contributions from pupils per lesson. This is approximately equivalent to one contribution per girl. However, the scarce resource is not evenly distributed - some girls speak four times in every class they attend.

Interpretation The number of contributions a girl makes in lessons is directly related to the power of her resources and her perspectives about appropriate classroom behaviour.

Finding 6 Clique membership is significantly associated with classroom speech patterns.

Interpretation The shared perspectives of sub-groups of girls affect whether or not those girls attempt to widen the focus of the teacher's presentation of material. Girls with a self-consciously 'intellectual' stance try to widen the focus.

Finding 7 Conscientious girls make above average numbers of content-oriented moves; syllabus-free girls make above average numbers of independent ones.

Interpretation Individual differences in perspective on academic work, as tapped by the sylb/sylf inventory, are reflected in different classroom strategies.

Finding 8 Girls planning to go to university make more contributions tangential to the discourse of lessons.

Interpretation Girls with long-term perspectives stretching beyond the school's immediate definitions of academic relevance are more likely to try and change the focus of discussion than those without such future plans.

Thes[e] then are some of the classroom strategies practised by pupils and teachers at St Luke's. Teachers differ in the freedom for negotiation which they permit, and pupils in the advantages they take of such freedom. In the next section of this chapter some incidents, recorded

in my field-notes, are used to illustrate negotiations going on between teachers and girls.

INCIDENTS FROM THE CLASSROOM

The first incident I want to discuss may, at first sight, appear trivial. I would maintain that it is not. It shows the 'special relationship' which existed between Henrietta and Mrs Flodden. 'A' History set had finished discussing Fox, Pitt, Burke and Paine, and were to start the Napoleonic Wars.

'A' History 2/W/5

(As soon as the whole group has assempled, Evelyn puts up her hand. Mrs Flodden acknowledges it, and asks her what she wants.)

Evelyn: I've got an epigram about Burke - Can I read it?
Mrs F: (Says yes 'of course'.)
Evelyn: (Reads her epigram and gets laughter from class.)
Mrs F: (Gets Evelyn to write it on the board so anyone who chos chooses can copy it down. Then announces 'notes on the Napoleonic Wars. ')
Henrietta: (Calls out that she has forgotten her book, and can she go and fetch it?)
Mrs F: (Asks if her form-room is empty, and on hearing it is, lets her go. Makes no attempt to start lesson. Stands and chats to class for ten minutes while Henrietta is gone.)

When lesson does start, Mrs Flodden begins to talk about the Napoleonic Wars. Barbara is talking to her neighbour (Fleur). Mrs Flodden stops her lecture and pounces on Barbara with a question. Barbara answers it right.

Mrs F: That saved your bacon!

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There are three distinct negotiations in this extract. First, Evelyn makes a contribution to the discussion which took place in the previous lesson. She offers an epigram. Offering it implies that she has no 'natural' right to contribute to the class's knowledge of Burke, but it also implies that she expects Mrs Flodden to grant her the temporary right to do so. Mrs Flodden grants this privilege, and 'colonises' it - she gets Evelyn to write it on the board, and defines it as a recordable piece of information. It is not, however, defined as central, for recording it is left voluntary - no-one has to write it down. Mrs Flodden is, by implication, in charge of defining what is and what is not useful or relevant knowledge about Burke.

The interchange with Barbara shows another way in which Mrs Flodden is in control. Girls are meant to listen when she speaks, not talk to neighbours. However, by answering the question, Barbara shows that she was either listening while talking, or knew about the Napoleonic Wars already. In effect her strategy is offering proof that she is absorbing the requisite information. This is sufficient

to avert any disciplinary comment from Mrs Flodden - but the joke she gets instead recognises the possibility of sanction which existed.

The interchange with Henrietta is unique in my field-notes. Girls at St Luke's had to move from their own form-room and go to the rooms where the various teachers waited for them, carrying all their books and equipment. Someone forgot something about once a day. The staff's reactions varied. Sometimes girls were sent to fetch whatever was missing; sometimes they were told to 'make it up afterwards'; sometimes the teacher provided a substitute. However, I saw no other occasion on which a teacher held up a class while a girl fetched something she had forgotten. (Lessons were held up if girls were on errands for the teacher.) Mrs Flodden therefore behaved unusually in waiting for Henrietta to return.

This incident is scarcely negotiated, for Henrietta makes no attempt to have the lesson held for her. Her only bargaining statement is to affirm that her form-room is empty. Mrs Flodden is unilaterally making the statement that History classes do not begin in Henrietta's absence. The reason for this is to be found in the 'special relationship' which exists between Henrietta and Mrs Flodden, hinted at above in the section on Resources. Henrietta has resources which endear her to Mrs Flodden. She explained to me:

> 'I think Mrs Flodden likes me very much - because she knows my mother very well. I

> read quite a lot of History - she regards me as moderately good at it - even if I get some of my facts wrong. Of course Mrs Flodden - well she and Mrs Michaels - they're on terms - they come to our bonfire party every year. You know what I mean. They're all historians and they knew each other at Oxford and Cambridge.'

Henrietta, because she comes from a family with an academic historian in it, and because of family friendships, is not an 'ordinary' pupil, and Mrs Flodden shows it. Henrietta does not have to bargain in order to obtain a special privileged position in Mrs Flodden's classes - she has one already, by virtue of her family background.

The second incident I want to discuss comes from field-notes taken during a Biology lesson. Whereas the extract from Mrs Flodden's class showed an unusual teacher-pupil relationship, this concentrates upon a negotiation about the scientific method, and hence the boundaries of legitimate knowledge.

'A' Biology 6&7/F/3

This lesson was the last of a series on photo-synthesis. The topic had been covered by a series of experiments - the penultimate one being completed and written up as this extract begins.

Michelle: (Asks a question about experimental method - I am not sure whether she is being annoying or is genuinely puzzled.)

Henrietta: (Joins in with a related query - asking how 'controlled' variables can actually be controlled.)

Michelle: (Without waiting for comment from Mrs Linnaeus, thinks up a rigorous design and announces it.)

Mrs Linnaeus: (Assumes they are satisfied - and begins to address the class. Tells them that they have nearly come to the end of photosynthesis...)

Sharon: Good.

Mrs Linnaeus: (Ignores Sharon. Says one more experiment to do - the sunlight and silver paper one.[17] Asks what would happen if they cover leaves with silver paper and leave them for a few days.)

Zoe: No sunlight can get through, so there won't be any starch.

Mrs Linnaeus: (Accepts that - states it formally as an hypothesis. Asks what would happen if they cut holes in the foil.)

Karen: You'll get starch in the holes and not anywhere else.

Mrs Linnaeus: (Accepts this and states it as a formal hypothesis.) The lesson proceeds. Girls carry out the preparations for this experiment, tidy up after the previous one, and write up. About fifteen minutes pass.)

Mrs Linnaeus: (Announces a test.)

Sharon: Why do we have to have tests all the time?

(17) This experiment involves covering growing leaves with silver foil with several holes cut in it. After a few days the leaves are picked, and tested for chlorophyll - which should only be present in the uncovered patches.

Mrs Linnaeus: (Ignores this and gives details.) Most girls start to revise.

Michelle: Mrs Linnaeus I don't see how that will prove it - it could be all sorts of things we don't know anything about.

Mrs Linnaeus: (Comes down the lab. to stand near Michelle - asks her to expand her problem - to explain what she doesn't see.)

Michelle: Well you said if there was starch in the bare patches it would mean there was - it would be because of the light. But it could be the chemicals in the foil, or something we know nothing about.

Sharon: Of course it'll prove it - we wouldn't be wasting our time doing it if it didn't.

Mrs Linnaeus: I don't think that's a very good reason, Sharon. (Laughs. Then she goes into a long and detailed vindication of the experimental structure. This involves discussing the molecular structure of carbohydrates, and other phenomena.) Few other girls bother to listen - Henrietta does.

Mrs Linnaeus: You look worried Lorraine.

Lorraine: (Says she isn't.)

****

This extract has already been discussed from Michelle's point of view in Chapter 9. Here I want to discuss only its implications for the study of classroom strategy. Six girls are mentioned in the extract: Michelle, Henrietta, Sharon, Zoe, Karen and Lorraine. Two

of these girls are busy answering the teacher's content-oriented queries, (Zoe and Karen). Sharon is engaged in providing an intrusive, highly personalised commentary on events; which, though a disciplinary challenge, is not a challenge to the teacher's definition of appropriate scientific behaviour. For reasons already discussed in this chapter, Sharon was 'allowed' considerable latitude in her classroom behaviour - here she is ignored rather than reprimanded for interrupting. Mrs Linnaeus only 'takes her up' when she puts an interpretation on the scientific method which Mrs Linnaeus cannot accept. What Sharon intends as a supportive comment is actually a challenge to Mrs Linnaeus's structuring of scientific discovery.

Sharon's perspective on Biology is clearly bounded by the classroom, and classroom work. Her commentary reflects what is happening in the classroom, and her reaction to Michelle - who is trying to make a point about scientific method in the real world - is to try and force Michelle to use her (Sharon's) classroom-bound frame of reference. Michelle, in contrast is employing a wider perspective, which relates to 'Science', and is not limited to the school syllabus. Michelle's queries are a serious challenge to Mrs Linnaeus's control over knowledge, because they highlight the essential tension between science in the real world, and the 'guided discovery' version of it which Mrs Linnaeus is implementing. Michelle's queries have to

be answered, because they represent a fundamental criticism of Mrs Linnaeus's methods. She believes in 'Stage-managing' the Biology, so that girls actually deduce conclusions from their findings. However, time is too short to let them loose on any real experiments, and so she controls which hypotheses are tested. Michelle's queries force her either to explain her stage management, or to enlist her greater knowledge of real science in justification. She chooses the latter strategy - which sustains the illusion of discovery, and so Sharon's class-work comment is challenging. Thus she dismisses it with a laugh - as unworthy of serious consideration. If she had justified her choice of experiments to Michelle in terms of the constraints of syllabus and equipment, Sharon's comment would not be a challenge - rather the compliment Sharon intended it to be.

Henrietta and Lorraine play essentially passive roles in this extract. Henrietta listens silently to Mrs Linnaeus's explanations - though she had earlier expressed similar doubts to Michelle's. Lorraine is explicitly offered the chance to join in the discussion, but declines it - denying that she is worried by such problems. Lorraine therefore states that she is happy to accept Mrs Linnaeus's situational definitions. Mrs Linnaeus, by asking her to join in, is actually referring the debate with Michelle back to the wider audience of the class - but no-one wants to join in.

The final incident I want to discuss shows bargaining between a teacher, Mrs Hill, and the 'A' Geography set. This negotiation - which constitutes an explicit bargaining procedure - concerns marks, something which involves many pupils in strategies of challenge and near challenge.

'A' Geography 4/W/3

This lesson was mainly taken up by the administration of a short answer test on the geography of Scotland. A typical question from the test was 'Name 2 coal-fired power stations in Scotland'. Once the test was completed, the girls swopped papers to mark it.

Mrs H: (Tells them not to talk. Announces a firm marking schedule, and says there are to be no arguments about it. Then starts asking round the class to get the answers.) ..... (Later)

Mrs H: Right, now what do we call the area of fertile farm land which includes Perthshire?

Evelyn: (Is giggling hysterically.)

Mrs H: (Asks her what the matter is.)

Evelyn: (Does not, or cannot manage to answer.)

Mrs H: (Sends her out of the room. Takes her test paper back from Angela, and makes Angela and Karen swop.)

Jackie: The Golden Girdle.

Karen: (Bursts out laughing.)

Mrs H: (Asks her what is funny.)

Karen: Angela has got "Golden Griddle" not "Girdle".

Mrs H: (laughs)

(The whole class dissolves into laughter.)

Mrs H: She can have half a mark for ingenuity. Get Evelyn back in, will you? (A chorus of protests about the half mark - for the schedule had stated "no half marks".

Mrs H: (Ignores protests. Tells Evelyn she can see why it was funny, but she should have explained why she was laughing.) They go on - another question asked for the "industries of Glasgow after the American War of Independence". After the 'right' answers have been given...

Karen: I had "the slave trade". Does that count?

Mrs H: That's not an industry.

Karen: Well, for modern Scotland we've got "tourism" as an industry - if tourists are an industry surely slaves are too?

Mrs H: (Gives in, and lets her have a half mark too.) Another chorus of "Not fair" breaks out and is silenced. The next question concerns the potato crop in one region.

Mrs H: (Says that only "early potatoes" counts as right - just "potatoes" won't do.) A chorus of protests demand half a mark for "potatoes".

Mrs H: (Refuses and is adamant.)

****

This extract shows negotiations taking place about legitimate classroom behaviour; about the definitions of Geography held by pupils and teacher; and about marks. This last topic was always a bargaining point in the classroom at St Luke's, for unlike the limits of knowledge, which are problematic to only some girls, and the limits of good behaviour, which are well-known, marks have to be negotiated afresh in every test situation. Because they are tangible - written on reports and taken away from the class - they are more permanent than the results of other negotiations.

The first noticeable feature of this extract is Mrs Hill's attempts to organise a rigid marking schedule and procedure - the girls mark each other's papers, and are told that no argument is to be allowed. Initially therefore bargaining is defined as impermissible. After a while this organisation breaks down. There is a disciplinary infringement. Evelyn is laughing uncontrollably. She is not able, or not prepared, to explain why she is laughing. This is interpreted as a challenge to Mrs Hill's authority, and so she is sent outside. Jackie gives the correct answer, but the lesson cannot proceed for Karen is now laughing. This locates the joke in Angela's test paper. Karen, unlike Evelyn, gives an account of why she is laughing - Angela has produced a school girl howler.

Mrs Hill could deny that howlers are funny, and discipline Karen too. Instead she laughs, and accepts Karen's account. As she and the whole class have now

laughed, the howler is defined as a shared joke - the joint definition of the utterance is 'joke'. This places Mrs Hill in difficulties vis-a-vis Evelyn. Now there is a new situational definition, Evelyn's laughter cannot rationally be deemed a disciplinary infringement. Mrs Hill therefore calls her back into the situation, 'clues her into' the new shared definition, but also reprimands her for not making her reasons for laughing explicit. She implicitly formulates a new rule - laughing is alright if the cause is sufficiently funny to be shared with the class and teacher, but not if the cause is not made explicit.

This negotiated settlement - accepting Angela's howler as a joke - causes another set of problems. Mrs Hill says that Angela is to be given 'half a mark for ingenuity'. This is unpopular with the other girls because it breaks Mrs Hill's earlier rule of 'no half marks'. Mrs Hill counters the protests by ignoring them. Implicitly she states that she can change her rules when she likes. This implicit shift on Mrs Hill's part gives Karen a chance to negotiate her marks. When a question comes up shortly afterwards, Karen is ready to negotiate over the possible right answers. Initially her assertion is countered, but she asserts that her reasoning stems from Mrs Hill's own structuring of Geography material. Mrs Hill apparently accepts the logic of Karen's claim, and gives her a half mark too.

This second capitulation on Mrs Hill's part could be very disruptive. She again receives a chorus of protests, and silences them. However, she also decides that negotiations over marks must be stopped, and uses the next question as her opportunity to 'clamp down'. She states that only one answer will do, and refuses to consider awarding half marks for alternatives or incomplete answers. Authority in academic matters, and matters to do with marks, is asserted - and accepted, for the girls are silenced.

To understand why certain girls take part in such negotiations, and others do not, or why Mrs Hill allows such negotiation to occur at all, one can refer to interview material, formal and informal, gathered during the research. Mrs Hill is obviously prepared to consider a howler as amusing, and to alter her marking schedule if a good case is argued. Two things she told me during informal interviews illuminate her perspectives on teaching Geography to the third year girls. Firstly, Mrs Hill made no secret of the fact that she disliked the current 'O' grade syllabus. She frequently told me that she found it 'pedestrian' and 'boring', and compared it unfavourably with the Higher grade syllabus, which contained 'more interesting material - it can be taught from more interesting angles'. For a teacher who feels like this about a course she is teaching, it is not surprising to find her enjoying an impromptu joke. The other perspective Mrs Hill stressed was her liking for the set she taught from the third year. She frequently told me that the girls were 'very cheerful and lively' and

'a joy to teach' because 'they're quick on the uptake'. Perceiving the class as quick witted, and liking them for it, is one prerequisite for engaging in verbal sparring over points such as Karen's definition of the slave trade.

The girls' actions in this lesson can also be better understood when their perspectives are taken into consideration. Two girls who feature in the extract, Evelyn and Karen, both had definite views on Geography. Evelyn had a highly idiosyncratic outlook on Geography and Mrs Hill. She told me:

> 'I'm not really interested in Geography - I'd like to drop it. I tend to think of Mrs Hill as a schoolgirl rather - probably 'cos I don't like the subject. It's not that she's boring - I think I'd be bored by anyone. She picks on me - because, well because I don't like the subject - and if she doesn't like me I think that's perfectly fair because I don't like the subject.'

This string of comments, though muddled, is perfectly related to Evelyn's classroom behaviour. Given that she sees Mrs Hill as a 'schoolgirl rather' it is perhaps less surprising that she does not make the source of her laughter explicit. A history of mutual dislike explains why she is sent outside the room - a severe sanction at St Luke's.

Karen's bargaining is an ingenious attempt to obtain a mark by negotiation for an answer she knows not to be 'right' (in the sense that Mrs Hill did not expect

it), but one she feels she can argue a case for. Various aspects of her personal background and attitudes may be relevant to her decision to bargain here. Karen's family lived abroad, her father having been posted 'all over the world' in his job. This background gave Karen a perspective on Geography. She complained that 'it's excessively boring - all we ever do is the British Isles - imagine spending two whole terms learning Scotland!'

Karen, like two-thirds of the 'A' set, said she wanted to drop Geography, as she had no interest in it. An attitude of this type, and a dislike of the topic under discussion, make Karen's instrumental outlook understandable. In the absence of other guiding motivations bargaining for marks is an explicable strategy.

Summary of Incidents

The three incidents given above, and the teacher profiles in Chapter 8, have shown how the interactionist perspective can provide insight into the classroom process. Chapter 8 showed the importance of the physical, and the institutional setting for understanding the classroom. The three incidents show different types of negotiation: how family background can be a classroom resource; how pupil behaviour can be related to their perspectives on the limits of knowledge; and finally, how 'rules' are negotiated in the classroom.

CONCLUSIONS

The main body of this thesis has shown the inadequacy of any single one of the three traditional research methods outlined in the Introduction for an understanding of the classroom. This chapter has suggested that the associated theories are equally inadequate - and put forward a symbolic interactionist framework instead. This framework is based on the idea that classroom interactions, like other social situations, are socially constructed by means of negotiations.

The idea of social negotiations can best be understood, as applied to the classroom, when the situation and its participants are seen interacting - making explicit strategies - in a multi-facetted setting, with their resources mobilised according to their perspectives. This framework has integrated the various themes running through the thesis into a coherent, interactionist analysis.

In conclusion, there are two points to be made about this framework and its relationship to the rest of the thesis: the connections between negotiations and academic conformity; and the positioning of the model vis-a-vis the thesis itself. At first glance the relationship between conformity and negotiation is not obvious. I would argue, however, that the two are interconnected. An interactionist view of pupil behaviour in the classroom should, as outlined above, take account of the perspectives not only of the student body as a whole; but also of the sub-groups which exist; and of the individual. The notions of conformity which

run through the thesis are pertinent to these three levels of pupil perspective.

At the level of the whole sample of girls, there are the 'rules' of classroom discourse which all pupils recognise, and which are only challenged on rare occasions by isolated individuals. As the profile of Michelle showed, even a self-confessed rebel conforms to these rules throughout most of her school life. Then the various cliques have different perspectives on the extent to which the rules must be conformed to, or are negotiable. Finally, at the individual level the sylb/sylf scale measured individual variations in conformity to those norms. The extent to which the limits of pupil conformity are negotiable depends in large measure on the teacher; the extent to which any individual challenges the norms depends on her resources and her perspectives about conformity.

Finally, a brief word about the relative weights given to the data and the interactionist framework in the thesis. As stated in Chapter 2, the framework - in its present form - post-dates the collection and initial handling of the data. This is one reason for the organisation of the thesis. I had, however, another reason. Edmund Leach (1954, 1961b), when presenting novel or controversial theoretical arguments, separated sections of source material from his interpretations of them. This precedent seems to me to be admirable, and I have, therefore followed it here.

By separating the data and their interpretation in this way I have left the reader free to impose alternative theoretical and interpretative frameworks if he or she wished to do so. In areas of social science where no clear precedents exist, such as unstructured observation studies, I believe this to be the researcher's fairest strategy.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Timetable of 3rd Year Girls at St Luke's

MONDAY

9.20	A French	B French		
10.0	A History	B History	C Geography	
11.0	A English	B English		
11.40	A Maths	B Maths		
12.20	A Latin	B Latin	Classical Background	Dress & Design
2.0	A Maths	B Maths		
2.40	A Geography	B Geography	C History	
3.20	Music	Religious Education	Art	

TUESDAY

9.20	A English	B English		
10.0	A Maths	B Maths		
11.0	A French	B French		
11.40	A Physics	B Biology	Greek or Music	Dress & Design
12.20	A Physics	B Biology	German or Spanish	Dress & Design
2.0	A History	B History	C Geography	
2.40	A Latin	B Latin	A Biology	
3.20	German	Music	A Biology	

WEDNESDAY

9.20	A English	B English		
10.0	A History	B History	C Geography	
11.0	A French	B French		
11.40	A Geography	B Geography	C History	
12.20	Greek	Hockey		
2.0	A Maths	B Maths		
2.40	A Chemistry	B Chemistry	German or Music	Dress & Design
3.20	A Chemistry	B Chemistry	History of Science or Music	Dress & Design

THURSDAY

9.20	A French	B French		
10.0	A Latin	B Latin	Classical Background	Dress & Design
11.0	A Geography	B Geography	C History	
11.40	A Physics	B Biology	Greek	Gym
12.20	A Physics	B Biology	German	Spanish
2.0	Religious Education	Dancing		
2.40	A Maths	B Maths		
3.20	A English	B English		

FRIDAY

9.20	A Chemistry	B Chemistry	Spanish or German	Greek
10.0	A Chemistry	B Chemistry	Spanish or German	Greek
11.0	A French	B French		
11.40	A Maths	B Maths		
12.20	Lacrosse			
2.0	A Latin	B Latin	A Biology	Classical Background
3.20	A English	B English		

APPENDIX 2

Additional Material on Leisure Interests and Career Choice

Leisure Interests

As I stated in Chapter 4, the majority of studies of adolescents deal with delinquents, or rely on anthropological or American sources. Comparing the leisure activities of my St Luke's sample with those of other young people in Britain in the last fifteen years is therefore difficult. Mark Abrams' study 'The Teenage Consumer' is the nearest thing to a survey of leisure habits from that period (Abrams, 1961), but is now out-of-date. Abrams has also been criticised for an oversimplistic approach to his subject, as in this extract from an article by Bernard Davies:

> 'In the first place, Abrams was concerned with unmarried 15 to 25 year-olds. This upper age limit was bound to raise the total spending figure sharply, but it disguises important age differences. Abrams discussed only <u>total</u> expenditure and average earnings. He said nothing of how many high-earners were hiding how many low ones. He offered no regional of local differences and so threw no light on how young people in London compare with those from the North of Scotland.'
>
> (Davies, 1969)

Since Abrams, other researchers have made some more careful studies of leisure pursuits, such as Sugarman's studies in London, and Liam Hudson's work on the systematic

relationships between intellectual activities and leisure ones. (Sugarman, 1967; Hudson, 1966.) However, the most immediately relevant research for the purposes of this chapter is the recently published Scottish Council for Research in Education study of fifteen year olds in five regions of the country. (S.C.R.E., 1970) The findings of this survey, carried out in 1960-61, enable the results of my enquiries about leisure habits to be seen in a national perspective.(1)

Questions about leisure pursuits were included on a questionnaire designed to collect information on various personal matters, which I gave to all my research samples during the years 1968-71. The actual questions asked about memberships of clubs and organisations outside school, and 'any special hobbies or interests'. A total of 193 boys and 231 girls have given me their answers to these questions, all aged between 14 and 16, from corporation, fee-paying, direct grant and independent schools in the city.(2)

The most popular spare-time activities and interests are shown, listed separately for boys and girls, in

(1) This survey suffered badly before the re-test from attrition, as the original cohort of 3,547 at 97 schools had been reduced to 1798 16 year olds one year later. (51% of the original sample.) However, the attrition was not great among the senior secondary pupils so their figures are not unrepresentative of this group, even if they are of early leavers.
(2) From seven schools in all.

Table A2:1. An examination of this table reveals two main features, one the amount of difference between the activities chosen by the boys and those by the girls, the other, the 'respectable' nature of many of the popular pursuits. The breakdown of different activities by sex is interesting: some, such as swimming, music and reading are high on the list for both sexes, while others which are popular with one sex are uncommon for the other, such as drama and golf, and some are entirely sex-linked, such as rugby and sewing.

A similar pattern is found in the account of pastimes given in the S.C.R.E. survey. Although they claim that there were no great sex differences in their results, and only printed a joint table, it is clear from the text that some activities were definitely sex-linked and others were not. (The most frequently mentioned leisure pastimes are shown in S.C.R.E. 1970, p. 117.) This table shows that the researchers have hidden any sex differences by forming such large, all-embracing categories as 'Youth Organisations', rather than giving detailed figures for the various types of organisations. In the text they do mention that girls were keener on youth clubs, and boys on organised sport, which fits my findings from similar pupils some eight to ten years later.(3) Their category 'hobbies' also seems so broad as to be meaningless,

(3) 74% of boys in the SCRE study and 57% of girls were involved in organised sport.

when it can include such varied interests as cooking, electronics and archaeology.

The greater involvement of boys in organised sport, which is clear from my study and that of the S.C.R.E., was also a feature of Schofield's findings in England in the mid-sixties. (Schofield, 1965.) He found that 64% of the older boys had recently taken part in some organised game, and 35% said they were 'keen on sport',while among the older girls the figures were 52% and only 15%.

The category 'Youth Organisations' is also too broad to be very useful, but here the S.C.R.E. have given a breakdown of the category. This table reveals that their sample belonged to the same types of club as mine, and in roughly similar proportions; for instance, political clubs are much less common than the Guide and Scout movement in both sets of figures.

Apart from the different leisure patterns of the two sexes, it is clear that 'respectable' interests are common. Ignoring the various sporting activities, there is enormous interest in making music, by playing and singing, which is more popular for both sexes than listening to pop. Reading, cards and chess, drama,coin and stamp collecting, Art, Natural History and sewing all figure in the lists, and the overall impression is one of endless worthy pastimes filling all the gaps between the homework load.

The only 'disreputable' interest in a high ranked place is the category of 'Girls'/'Women'/'Sex' in the

TABLE A2:1

POPULAR LEISURE ACTIVITIES AND INTERESTS -
the Edinburgh Sample

BOYS (n=193)			GIRLS (n=231)		
Rank	Interest	No.	Rank	Interest	No.
1	'All sports'	91	1	Youth clubs	92
2	Soccer	72	2	Tennis	75
3	Rugby	44	3	Music	62
	Stamps & Coins	44	4	Swimming	57
	'Girls'/'Women'/'Sex'	44	5	Riding	45
6	Music	43	6	Drama	38
7	Scouts/Boys Brigade	37	7	Dancing	37
8	Swimming	34	8	Camping/Hiking	36
	Golf	34	9	Badminton	35
10	Listening to pop music	33	10	Reading	34
11	Fishing & Shooting	32	11	Ice-skating	30
12	Camping/Hiking	22	12	Girl-guides etc.	28
13	Reading	21	13	Ski-ing	25
14	Electronics	20	14	'Other sports'	24
	Cycling	20	15	'Going out with my boyfriend'	19
16	Making models	18			

TABLE A2:1 (continued)

BOYS (n=193)			GIRLS (n=231)		
Rank	Interest	No.	Rank	Interest	No.
17	Sailing/canoeing	16	16	Sewing	15
18	Photography	14	17	Listening to pop music	14
19	Cars/motor bikes	13	18	Natural history	12
20	Cards/Chess	11		Sailing/canoeing	12
	Railways	11		Sunday School teaching	12
	Natural history	11	21	Golf	10
23	Astronomy/Space	9		Art	10
	Drama	9	23	Fencing	8
25	Youth Clubs	8		Cars/motor bikes	8
	Art	8		Young Farmers' Club	8
27	Politics	7	26	Politics	7
	Drinking	7	27	Travel	6
29	Dancing	6	28	Clothes	5
30	The Cinema	5	29	The Cinema	4
	Television	5		Ballet	4
	Corps	5		Cooking	4
				Watching rugby	4

boys' list, which reveals an intriguing aspect of teenage sex-roles. While large numbers of boys express their interest in the opposite sex so baldly, the girls merely list mixed activities, such as clubs and dancing, or mention a specific boyfriend. This finding has a parallel in a finding of Connie Alderson's study of adolescent tastes in magazines. (Alderson, 1968.) She found that boys as young as eleven claimed to read periodicals like 'Stag', 'Men only', 'Topless', 'Playboy' and 'Mermaid', showing a similar bravado in their attitude to women, while girls of a similar age read romantic fiction.

Leisure Reading at St Luke's

In this section the results of the short questionnaire on leisure reading (shown in the next Appendix) are presented. These results speak for themselves, so little discussion is necessary. The questionnaire was constructed after informal class discussions in two other Edinburgh girls' schools. Briefly, it asked girls to estimate how much they read outside school-work; to mention the types of book they liked; to choose their favourite authors; and to list newspapers and magazines they enjoyed. Given the middle-class nature of the school, the results are not unexpected. The girls read more widely, and mentioned more 'quality'authors than studies carried out in secondary modern schools or comprehensives (Erskine, 1964 and Alderson, 1968.) The list of types of book, and that of

authors, strongly resemble those given by girls in a recent study of 1,000 'O' and 'A' level pupils. (Yarlott and Harpin, 1970)

The results were as follows:

1. Estimates of the amount of reading undertaken for pleasure, relative to the rest of the form.

	Estimated Amount	No.Girls (n=35)	%
i.	A lot more than the rest of the form	8	22.9
ii.	Slightly more than the rest of the form	13	37.1
iii.	About average for the form	9	25.7
iv.	Slightly below average for the form	4	11.4
v.	A lot less than the rest of the form	1	2.9
			(100.0%)

2. Types of book read. There were fifteen types of book listed, and a space in which they could add other types if they wished. In the event only one type of book - 'War stories and Escapes' was added more than once. The number of girls checking each type of book is shown below.

Rank	Type of Book	No. of girls (n=36)
1	Romantic Novels	25
2	Spy Stories/Thrillers	20
	Short Stories	20
4	Historical Novels	19
5	Biography	17
	Classic English Novels	17
7	Detective Stories	16

Rank	Type of Book	No. of girls (n=36)
8	Memoirs/Autobiography	15
9	Modern Novels	14
	Books on hobbies/interests	14
11	Science Fiction	12
12	Poetry	10
13	Plays	8
14	Travel Books	6
15	Background Reading	5
16	War stories/Escapes	2

3. Specific Authors chosen. A list of 30 authors, mentioned by pupils of other schools in informal discussion was given (including two 'dummy' names as distractors). Girls were then free to add any other names in a space left for this purpose. The names of authors chosen by six girls or more are shown below. Only one author (Gerald Durrell) not included on the list was mentioned by as many as six girls.

Rank	Author	No. of girls (n=36)
1	Agatha Christie	20
2	Jane Austen	19
3	Gavin Maxwell	15
	Mary Stewart	15
5	George Orwell	14
6	D.H. Lawrence	12
7	John Galsworthy	11
	Nevil Shute	11
9	Ian Fleming	10
	J.R. Tolkien	10
11	John Wyndham	9
	Gerald Durrell	9

Rank	Author	No. of girls (n=36)
13	Georgette Heyer	8
	Jean Plaidy	8
	Grahame Greene	8
16	Anya Seton	7
	William Golding	7
	John Steinbeck	7
	Lawrence Durrell	7
20	Somerset Maughan	6

4. Newspapers and magazines. The girls were left free to list any newspapers or magazines they read 'regularly'. No list was provided. The most commonly mentioned periodicals are listed below.

a) Magazines

1. '19' (10, n=36)
2. Honey (8)
3. Jackie (5)
4. Woman (4)
5. Vogue & Punch (3)
7. Vanity Fair (2)
   Petticoat (2)
   Woman's Own (2)
   Family Circle (2)
   Private Eye (2)

b) Newspapers

1. The Scotsman (12, n=36)
2. Daily Express (9)
3. Sunday Times (7)
4. Observer (6)
5. Telegraph (3)
   Daily Mail (3)
   Evening News (3)

Further Material on Career Choice

In order to compare the career choices of the St Luke's sample with those of pupils of other, similar schools in the city, I included a similar question about occupations in the questionnaires given in all the other city schools visited during 1969-71. This produced a sample of 217 adolescents, including the St Luke's girls.

The results obtained, shown in Table A2:2, show how ambitious the St Luke's girls are compared to other girls in the city. Their career choices look more like those of the boys' sample in the weight given to the professions.

Table A2:2 reveals that a larger number of the boys studied said they had no particular job in mind. This may be due to their younger average age, (14.7 years as opposed to 15.8 years), and the fact that some were still in their second year, while the girls were all in their third year, had begun to specialise, and were under more pressure to choose an occupational field. The number of people who gave only a general subject area, (i.e. 'something with languages' or 'something where I can use Biochemistry or geology') is roughly similar for the two sexes.

Similarly, some of the most popular careers among the girls, such as the auxiliary medical services, primary teaching and secretarial work, do not appear on the boys' list at all. None of the girls mentioned accountancy, and only girls from St Luke's had thought of professional sport, architecture, veterinary sciences, or dentistry.(5) None of the boys mentioned professional drama, and only one catering, social work, professional music or retail trade.

(5) Here I am counting Una's ambition to ski for Britain as professional sport, on the grounds that it would involve a full-time commitment if not a salary.

TABLE A2:2

Career Choices: The City Sample

Girls (n=103)		Boys (n=115)	
Career Choice	N	Career Choice	N
Auxiliary Medical Services(1)	19	Engineering and Computers	11
Primary Teaching	9	Armed Services, MN & Civil Aviation	10
Catering	7	Medicine	7
Secretarial	7	Architecture & Surveying	6
Professional Music & Drama	7	Agriculture & Forestry	6
Medicine	6	Accountancy	5
Social Work	6	Veterinary Sciences	5
Secondary Teaching (Non-academic)	6	Secondary Teaching (Academic)	5
Auxiliary Veterinary Services	4	Law	4
Secondary Teaching (Academic)	4	Professional Sport	4
Computing	3	Secondary Teaching (Non-academic)	3
Agriculture & Forestry	3	Dentistry	2
Retail Trade	2		
Don't Know	13	Don't Know	40
Subject Area Only	13	Subject Area Only	10

Notes on Table A2:2

(1) This category includes nursing, radiography, physiotherapy, and the other branches of therapy - speech occupational etc. I have put them all into one category because the girls think of them this way - i.e. girls who were considering nursing were always thinking about one or more of the 'therapies' as well.

the civil service had only one potential recruit of either sex, and politics only two, Michelle and one boy.

Teaching is a relatively common choice for both sexes. I divided secondary teaching into academic and 'non-academic or vocational', according to the subject involved. Academic teaching was defined as any subject which needed a university degree, while subjects taught in colleges, such as Art, Woodwork, PE or Domestic Science were classed as vocational. The latter type is more popular with girls than teaching academic subjects, and less popular among the boys.

It is interesting to compare this data on career choice with the findings of Butcher and Pont (1968). Butcher studied a large cohort of Scottish secondary school pupils, tested originally when they were in their second year. They set the cohort essays on 'What I hope to be doing in five or six year's time' and asked them to rate fifteen careers on 6 criteria. These essays were analysed to see what careers were mentioned as first choices and alternatives, and what reasons were given for these choices. Essays were received from over 900 pupils,(6) about 10% of whom said that they did not know what they wanted to do. The actual jobs mentioned by five or more pupils are shown

(6) To be precise, 450 boys and 487 girls.

in Table A2:3 which is slightly adapted from Butcher and Pont (1968).[7]

The most striking difference between the rank orders of career choices for the boys in my sample and in Butcher's is the higher position of teaching in his table. Secondary teaching also seems to be more popular with the girls in Butcher's sample than with mine, although primary teaching holds an equivalent position for girls in both samples. Butcher's sample; drawn from the twenty schools which had sent the highest proportions of students to the two universities in Edinburgh in the years immediately before the research; came predominantly from local-authority schools, in contrast to my more middle-class sample.[8] Teachers in the past have been drawn disproportionately from the upwardly mobile, bright, working-class students and the lower middle classes. (See, Kelsall & Kelsall, 1969.)

(7) I have adapted the original table slightly to make it more immediately comparable with mine given in Chapter 5. I have taken the various jobs in the auxiliary medical services and placed them together, and added their category 'pilot' to the 'armed services' category.

(8) The greater proportion of working-class pupils in Butcher's sample is also revealed by the presence of occupations such as draughtsman, electrician and policeman in his boys' list, none of which appear in mine.

TABLE A2:3

CAREER CHOICES OF BUTCHER'S 1965-66 COHORT
(adapted from Butcher and Pont 1968)

Girls (n=487)		Boys (n=450)	
Career	N	Career	N
Secondary Teacher (Not Science)	112	Engineer	66
Primary Teacher	109	Secondary Teacher (Not Science)	45
Secretary	43	Armed Services & Civil Aviation	35
Auxiliary Medical Services	38	Research Chemist	33
Research Chemist	28	Doctor	31
Civil Service	24	Architect	27
Science Teacher	22	Physicist	24
Air Hostess	20	Lawyer	21
Vet	19	Scientist	19
Social Worker	17	Science Teacher	17
Child Nurse	15	Veterinary Surgeon	15
Interpreter	14	Draughtsman	13
Doctor	14	Civil Service	13
Journalist	13	Journalist	13
Dress Designer	9	Farmer	12
Lab. Technician & Assistant	6	Chartered Accountant	12
		Biologist/Biochemist	11
		Electrician	9
		Minister of Religion	8
		Policeman	6
		Chef	5
		Interpreter	5
		Banker	5
		Professional Footballer	5
		Dentist	5

The Paul/Pauline Experiment

Chapter 5 mentioned that I was surprised to discover, (when analysing the interview transcripts) that all my sample claimed, when describing their choice of 'O' grade course, that they had picked subjects which they liked and were good at. I had expected some girls to tell me that they had been forced to choose between subjects they liked but were relatively poor at, and others in which they got high marks. In the term following my field-work at St Luke's I decided that it would be interesting to discover how pupils of both sexes would discriminate between ability and interest if they were forced to do so. I therefore devised a questionnaire which posed a simplified choice between a pair of subjects where relative ability and preference did not coincide. This questionnaire was given to seventy-seven girls at two independent schools (St Luke's and The Laurels) and fifty-seven boys at two grant-aided schools. The average age of the girls was fifteen, that of the boys fourteen. The whole sample were taking 'O' grade courses involving English, Mathematics, a foreign language and several optional subjects. I used two languages in the question because all the pupils were taking at least one foreign language and both arts and science specialists could find some personal relevance in the dilemms.

The dilemma was phrased as follows:

> 'Pauline is 15. This year she has to choose whether to take Russian or French at 'O' grade. The teacher has told Pauline that she will probably pass 'O' grade whichever subject she

chooses to do. She likes Russian better than French, but in the last exams she got 80 for French and only 60 for Russian.

What do you think she should do?

a. Accept the exam results and take French 'O' grade.
b. Ignore the exam results and take Russian.

Which subject do you think the teacher would advise her to take?

Which subject do you think her parents would advise her to take?

On the rest of this page, please write a few pages to show what you think Pauline might say to her best friend when she tells her which subject she is going to take'.

In as much as I had any hypothesis about the resultsof this experiment I expected the majority of the girls to choose French, the subject with the higher mark, and the majority of the boys to choose Russian, the preferred subject, because of the greater tendency of girls to be syllabus-bound and conformist. The actual results are shown in Table A2:4 which reveals that my expectations were totally wrong.

An examination of the first two columns of Table A2:4 shows that there is a considerable difference between the responses of the girls and those of the boys on the first question, and smaller differences on the second and third. The girls are significantly more likely to say that Pauline should choose Russian. (Using a chi-square test with 1 d.f. $p = 0.01$.) A larger percentage of the girls also suggest that the <u>teacher</u> would advise French, while a higher proportion of the boys say that the <u>parents</u> would advise French.

TABLE A2:4

	Girls (n=77)		Boys (n=57)		Total (n=134)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Paul/Pauline[1] should take						
(a) French	16	20.8	24	40.4	40	30.1
(b) Russian	61	79.2	32	56.1	93	69.9
2. Teacher advises						
(a) French	68	87.0	43	73.7	111	82.2
(b) Russian	9	11.7	12	21.1	21	15.6
(c) His/Her Choice	1	1.3	2	4.1	3	2.2
3. Parents advise						
(a) French	38	48.1	29	66.7	77	57.0
(b) Russian	36	46.8	14	24.6	50	37.0
(c) His/Her Choice	4	5.2	4	7.0	8	5.9

Note on Table A2:4

(1) The version given to boys used 'Paul' instead of Pauline as the stimulus.

Perhaps the most startling result is the large percentage of both boys and girls who say that the teacher would advise taking French, the subject with the better result, rather than the preferred subject, Russian. Almost ninety per cent of the girls said this, and over seventy per cent of the boys - a perception of teacher priorities which must have consequences for teacher-pupil relations and discussion of subject-choice, whether or not it is an accurate reflection of their teachers' views on the matter. The boys are more likely to see the parents advising French, that is taking the instrumental view point, than the girls are, which may be as accurate perception of the greater academic ambitions held by parents for their sons.

Among both boys and girls there are significant relationships between the choice made for Paul/Pauline and the advice given by parents and teachers. This means that the pupils who choose French for Paul/Pauline are significantly more likely to say that the teacher and the parents would advise French. (Using X^2 with 2 d.f. $p = 0.001$ and $p = 0.0001$ respectively.) Given the fact that the majority of the sample felt that both the teacher and the parents would advise taking French, it is not surprising that all those pupils who say initially that Paul/Pauline should take French should form part of that majority.

This simple analysis of the answers given to the three questions suggests that a gap of 20% between the

examination marks is not enough to make the majority of girls reject the subject they prefer, at least in this hypothetical situation, while it does seem to influence half the sample of boys to abandon their preferred subject.

APPENDIX 3

The Questionnaires and Inventories and the Interview Schedule

QUESTIONNAIRES AND INVENTORIES

(1) The First Scottish Sylb/Sylf Inventory[1]

This was modified from that used by Hudson (1968).

The instructions read:

'Below is a list of statements about schoolwork. Consider each item and place a tick in the appropriate column.'

There were three columns provided, allowing the pupils to 'Agree', 'Disagree' or remain undecided ('?'). The items were as follows:

1) I like teachers who stick to the syllabus, and do not digress.

2) I put off written work until the last minute.

3) I keep my notes for each subject arranged in a logical order.

4) I find that I revise more thoroughly than most of my classmates.

5) I make a lot of careless mistakes in my work.

6) I take fewer notes than most of my classmates.

7) Interests out of school often make me neglect my work.

8) I find it difficult to concentrate on my work.

(1) This is identical to the schedule used by Hudson (1968). Parlett used 'True, or mostly true of you'. and 'False, or not usually true of you' as responses, Parlett (1967).

9) I do quite a lot of serious reading outside my school subjects.

10) I find school work restricting and would like to have more choice in what I study.

11) I like to work at a precisely defined task.

12) Whether I like a subject or not, I do my best to get a good mark.

13) I often disagree with my teachers.

14) It matters a great deal to me that I should get good marks in examinations.

15) I do not spend much time on work outside the syllabus.

16) I would like more guidance in preparing for examinations.

17) I wish school work was less trivial.

18) I like to have notes dictated by the teacher.

19) I think that my school marks are a fairly accurate reflection of my true ability.

20) I try to develop a genuine interest in every subject I take.

21) I tend to be erratic, sometimes working well sometimes badly.

22) I find that I work hard when I am interested and slack when I am not.

23) Most school work seems to me a waste of time.

24) I would rather pursue my own ideas than follow a syllabus.

After the 1968-69 study, the wording of this inventory was modified slightly, to make it more comprehensible to younger pupils and remove ambiguities - for example I substituted 'go off the point' for 'digress' because very few fourteen-year-olds understood the latter. The amended version was as follows:

1) I like teachers who stick to the syllabus and do not go off the point.

2) Interests out of school often make me neglect my school work.

3) I find it difficult to concentrate on my school work.

4) I like to work at precisely defined tasks.

5) Whether I like a subject or not I do my best to get a good mark.

6) I often disagree with my teachers.

7) It matters a great deal to me that I should get good marks in exams.

8) I think that my school marks are a fairly accurate reflection of my true ability.

9) I try to develop a genuine interest in every subject I take.

10) I would rather pursue my own ideas than follow a syllabus.

11) I find the exam syllabuses restricting and would like to have more choice in what I study.

12) I put off written work till the last minute.

13) I keep my notes for each subject arranged in a logical order.

14) I find that I revise more thoroughly than most of my classmates.

15) I take fewer notes than most of my classmates.

16) I make a lot of careless mistakes in my school work.

17) I wish I had more time for serious reading outside the exam syllabus.

(2) <u>Personal Information Questionnaires</u>

These have taken a variety of forms during the period 1968-70. All versions have been substantially

similar however, and the one which follows is that used at St Luke's.

1. Which subjects are you hoping to take at 'O' grade?

2. Which subjects are you hoping to take at Higher grade?

3. Which school subject do you find the easiest?

4. And which the hardest?

5. Which is your favourite subject?

6. In which subject do you usually get best marks?

7. What do you hope to do when you leave school? Please tick one of the following:

   a) Go to University
   b) Go to a College of Education (i.e. a teacher training college).
   c) Some other form of further education or training (i.e. art school, secretarial course etc.).
   d) Go straight out to work.
   e) Don't know.
   f) None of these. (Please write what you are hoping to do on these lines.)

8. If you were to go to a university, what subjects would you study?

9. Have you an eventual job or career in mind? If so, what is it?

10. Do you belong to any societies or clubs in school? If you do, please fill in this table. (The first line has been filled in as an example.)

Name and description of soc.	Position held (if any)
Debating Soc.	Secretary

11. Do you belong to any clubs or societies OUTSIDE school? If you do, please fill in this table.

Name and description of soc.	Position held (if any)
e.g. Young Conservatives	Treasurer

12. Have you any other special interests outside school? If you have please list them in this space.

(3) Other Measures Used at St Luke's

During the period of the main field work each girl completed a Maudsley Personality Inventory (Eysenck, 1959); a leisure reading questionnaire; and two open-ended tests 'Uses of Objects' and 'Meanings of Words'. (Hudson, 1966.) The leisure reading questionnaire was devised after interviews in another Edinburgh girls' school, and has been administered to a sample from The Laurels in addition to those at St Luke's. The questionnaire took the following form.

Leisure Reading

This is a short questionnaire about leisure reading. In each question, please put a ring round the number of the answers you have chosen.

1. Apart from the reading you have to do for your school work, how much reading do you do for pleasure and relaxation?

1. A lot more than the rest of the form
2. Slightly more than the rest of the form
3. About average for the form
4. Slightly less than the rest of the form
5. A lot less than the rest of the form

2. When you do read, what sort of books do you choose? (Ring the numbers of any type of book in this list that you read for pleasure.)

1. Romantic Novels
2. Biography
3. Historical Novels
4. Spy Stories and Thrillers
5. Modern Novels (e.g. John Braine etc.)
6. Books about your hobbies or interests
7. Science Fiction
8. Poetry
9. Memoirs and Autobiography
10. Detective Stories
11. Collections of Short Stories
12. Travel Books
13. Extra books about school subjects (i.e. background reading)
14. Plays
15. Classic English Novels (e.g. Bronte, Thomas Hardy etc.)

3. If there is a type of book that you read which is not mentioned above, please use this space to describe it.

4. Which authors do you enjoy reading? Please look at the following list, and indicate (with a ring round the number) those you have enjoyed reading. That means ringing only those authors that you

read with pleasure, NOT those you disliked, or were made to read.

1	Ian Fleming	16	John Steinbeck
2	J.R.R. Tolkien	17	Nevil Shute
3	Somerset Maugham	18	Agatha Christie
4	Georgette Heyer	19	Tita Blake(2)
5	Denis Wheatley	20	Arthur Clarke
6	Jean Plaidy	21	John Braine
7	Grahame Greene	22	D.H. Lawrence
8	C.P. Snow	23	John Wyndham
9	Iris Murdoch	24	Ernest Hamingway
10	Anya Seton	25	Aldous Huxley
11	William Golding	26	Alan Sillitoe
12	Kathleen Cullen(3)	27	George Orwell
13	Gavin Maxwell	28	John Galsworthy
14	Jane Austen	29	Mary Stewart
15	Lawrence Durrell	30	Truman Capote

4. If there are any authors you particularly like, or read a lot, who are not in the list, please list them in this space.

5. If there are any newspapers or magazines that you usually read regularly (e.g. The Scotsman, The Spectator etc.) please list them in this space. If you never find time for newspapers or magazines, don't worry, just leave the space blank.

Open-Ended Tests

The open-ended tests used the following items and instructions:

(2) These were fictitious names, included as distractors for those who might be 'bumping up' their totals by random ticking. No-one fell into the trap.
(3) See footnote (2).

Each of the five words below has more than one meaning. Write down as many meanings for each word as you can.

Bolt
Pitch
Fast
Sack
Tender

Below are five everyday objects. Write down as many different uses as you can for each.

A walking stick
A golf ball
A potato peeler
A tube of toothpaste
A waste-paper basket

In the Autumn term following the field-work period the St Luke's sample completed two more questionnaires, the 'Two Dilemmas' and 'Exam Satisfaction' which are given below.

(1) <u>The Two Dilemmas</u>

Pauline is 15. This year she has to choose whether to take Russian or French at 'O' grade. The teacher has told Pauline that she will probably pass 'O' grade whichever subject she chooses to do. She likes Russian better than French, but in the last exams she got 80 for French and only 60 for Russian. What do you think she should do?

(Tick one)

a) Ignore the exam results and take Russian 'O' grade.

b) Accept the exam results and take French.

What subject do you think the teacher would advise her to take? .....

Which subject do you think her parents would advise her to take? .....

On the rest of this page, please write a few sentences to show what you think Pauline might say to her best friend when she tells her which subject she is going to take.

(2) It is about an hour before Marilyn's normal bedtime, and she has just started reading her new English Literature novel, which is fascinating. However, there is a revision test in French tomorrow, on some verbs which the teacher went over in class today. She could spend the next hour swotting the verbs or go on with the novel. She feels that she knows the verbs quite well, but there is a test, while the novel does not have to be finished until next term. What do you think she should do?

(tick one)

a) Spend the whole hour swotting the verbs for the test.

b) Divide the hour between the verbs and the novel.

c) Spend the whole hour reading the fascinating novel.

Please use the space below to suggest, in your own words, what Marilyn might be thinking as she gets ready for bed an hour later.

Exam Satisfaction

As you know I have been looking at some of the ways in which girls tackle their schoolwork. Obviously no account of schoolwork would be complete without a consideration of exams, and exam results. On this page you are asked to express how you felt about your results in last summer's exams.

For instance, if you were very disappointed with your result in maths, put a tick in the column headed 'Very Disappointed'; if you were very pleased with your result, put a tick in the column headed 'Very Pleased'. If your feelings are not so clear-cut, put a tick somewhere in between. If you didn't care about your result one way or the other, put a tick in the column headed 'Indifferent'.

YOU DO NOT HAVE TO SAY WHAT MARKS YOU GOT, JUST SAY HOW YOU FELT ABOUT THEM.

The six columns were headed:

'Very Disappointed, Disappointed, Satisfied, Pleased,

Very Pleased, Indifferent to the result.'

and the subjects involved were:

Maths, Arithmetic, English, French, Geography, History, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Latin, German, Spanish, Art, Greek, Music, Dress & Design.

2.

THE ST LUKE'S INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Whereabouts do you live? (This was only asked of those who lived outside Edinburgh.)

2. How far is that from Edinburgh?

3. What's it like there - what do you do in the holidays?

4. Have you any brothers and sisters? (For all girls.)

5. Are they older or younger than you?
(probe for details)

6. What school(s) are/did/will they attend? What are they doing now? (If a boarder) - Are/did/will they board?

7. How long have you been at St Luke's?

8. Did you go to any other schools before St Luke's?

   a) If yes - What was/were/it/they like?
   - what differences did you notice - did you change in any way?

   b) If no - Do you wish you had been to another school? What kind? Why?

9. Who are your special friends in your year at school?

10. Who don't you get on with?

11. Why did you decide to take Sciences/Classics/ Modern Languages/ etc?

12. Why Spanish or German?
(or) Why/why not Physics?
(and) Why/why not Latin?
(and) Why/why not Art/Dress and Design/Music?

13. (If parental attitudes have not been mentioned)
How did your parents feel about this? - Did they want you to do any particular things - or did they leave it to you?

14. (If no mention of the school's attitudes)
How did the school feel about your choice - what advice did you get?

15. How do you feel about the subject that everyone has to take? Are there any subjects in that group you'd like to drop? Is there anything in your whole school course you wish you could drop?

16. (The Repertory Grid Questions)
Now, I'm going to give you the names of the members of staff who teach you written on pieces of card, three at a time, and I want you to tell me anything which any two have in common that makes them different from the third, as teachers or as people. (All the girls' teachers were then presented in different combinations until she seemed to run out of new constructs - if a girl was obviously finding

it difficult, or kept using the subject taught as the differentiator, I asked her to compare her teacher for each subject that year with the one she had had the previous year.)

17. Are there any members of staff whom you feel dislike you or pick on you?
(If yes) - Who else does she/they dislike/pick on?
- Who does she/they like/make a pet of?

18. Why do you think that is?

19. Are there any teachers that you get on particularly well with, or you know like you?
(If yes) - Who else does she/they/like?
- Who does she/they dislike/pick on?

20. Why is this do you think?

21. If you had a younger sister or cousin who was coming to St Luke's, and she wanted advice about how to get on with the teachers here, what would you tell her? (If this question produced a negative comment such as "I wouldn't tell her anything - that's a horrid attitude." which it did on six occasions I rephrased it in more general terms, viz:

21b. What sort of behaviour do teachers like from pupils on the whole?

22. What makes pupils unpopular with teachers?

23. What do you think teachers feel about people who argue with them and quibble in class?

24. How do you feel about girls like that?

25. (If a career choice was given on initial questionnaire)
When did you consider doing X?
(If not) - Have you any ideas about a career or job yet?

26. (Here I asked in more detail about the leisure interests given on the questionnaire.)

APPENDIX 4

Data Handling

A. The Formation of the Item Clusters - 1968-69

The ten item sylb/sylf cluster was established after an analysis of all the scripts in the Edinburgh sample, (n 218) collected in 1968-69.

The initial stage of the analysis was the generation of a matrix of inter-item correlations, (Pearson's product moment correlation coefficients). These correlation coefficients were used, basically, as a screening device. Any item which had very low correlations with all, or almost all the other items in the schedule was eliminated from further consideration. The search for a cluster concentrated on the items which were highly correlated with several other items. (For example, Items 16 and 18 were highly inter-correlated, but neither correlated significantly with anything else, so they were omitted from further analysis.)

Next, I calculated the sorts/missorts ratio of every pair of items in the remainder - that is, the ratio of cases that conform to a tendency against those which run the reverse way. By inspection, it was possible to see the central items of a sylb/sylf cluster emerging, consisting of those items with the highest sorts/missorts ratios, and uniformly significant correlation coefficients.

The final decision on exactly which combination of items constituted the best cluster was based on three criteria. All the items in the final cluster had to make intuitive sense; the cluster had to have a high average sorts/missorts ratio, and the highest possible alpha coefficient. Coefficient alpha, established by Cronback, (1951), is a measure of the reliability of a test or item battery. McKennel (1968, 1970) has developed a method of using alpha in the construction of attitude scales. This method, and the approximate formula for calculating alpha, was used in the establishment of the cluster.

The sorts/missorts ratios were rarely very large. No cluster which emerged from the Edinburgh data would produce an average ratio approaching Hudson's 2.5:1 (Hudson, 1968a). The average ratio of the final cluster is therefore low (1.4:1), but all the ratios are greater than 1:1 in the required direction.

The second item cluster, concerning conscientiousness, was established in exactly the same way as the sylb/sylf cluster.

B. Formation of the Criterion Groups - 1968-69 study

The method described in this section was used to establish the four criterion groups from the score distributions of at least twelve different sections of the sample, including each school sample individually. Where I quote specific figures to illustrate this account of the

procedure, these refer to the establishment of the four groups from the score distribution of the total sample (n 396), which was used most often as a basis for the analyses described in the report.

Every individual in the total sample had two scores, one for conscientiousness and one from the sylb/sylf scale. (The Edin. scale.) The scores from the sylb/sylf scale were divided into five groups, comprising roughly 10% extreme sylbs, 20% sylbs, 40% intermediates, 20% sylf, and 10% extreme sylfs. (For most purposes the two groups at either end were summed, giving a 30%, 40%, 30% distribution.)

I originally intended to apply the same method to the scores from the conscientiousness scale, but the distribution was so skewed towards high scores, that it was impossible to divide it up, on that basis, without classifying about 80% of the sample as intermediates. This would have meant that my four criterion groups were so small as to be statistically worthless. Consequently I divided the distribution into two large sections, each consisting of about 40% of the sample. The remaining 20% were those individuals scoring 5, approximately the mean score.

All the individuals' scores on the two measures were plotted on a 5 x 3 contingency table. From this, a 2 x 2 table was derived, by summing the two end groups on the sylb/sylf scale, and eliminating those people whose scores fell in the central axis of the matrix. The four

criterion groups consisted of people whose scores fell within the following limits:

TABLE A4:1

	Sylb score	Consc.Score
Conscientious sylbs	14-20	6-8
Non-conscientious sylbs	14-20	0-4
Non-conscientious sylfs	0-8	0-4
Conscientious sylfs	0-8	6-8

The procedure described above was used every time the criterion groups were established from any set of scores. The numerical limits of the criterion groups obviously depend on the score distribution of the group for which they are being established.

APPENDIX 5

Profiles of Four Girls

This Appendix contains profiles of four girls; companions to those given in Chapter 9. They are Geraldine and Charmian (academically unsuccessful and successful intermediates); Janice, a conscientious sylf; and Deborah, the only non-conscientious sylb.

Profile A1 - Geraldine, An Intermediate

Geraldine is our example both of an unsuccessful intermediate,(1) and of a girl who talks very little in class. Tables 9:1 and 9:2 showed that she is in the bottom quintile for total moves, and for all three sub-categories of contribution. Table A5:1 shows her average number of contributions in each sub-category per ten lessons for each of the subjects she is studying. A glance at this table shows that Geraldine is either totally silent, or almost so, in five of the seven subjects in her curriculum, and contributes a significant amount only in Latin and Spanish

(1) Geraldine has an intermediate score on the Introversion/Extroversion scale, but comes out as Neurotic on the other dimension tapped by the Eysenck Personality Inventory. Her divergent reasoning is average for the sample, making her an intermediate on three out of the five standardised measures used in the study. (The sylb/sylf scale, the conscientiousness scale, the Extroversion scale, and the 'Meanings of Words' and 'Uses of Objects' test.)

These two subjects have certain features in common, as the rest of this profile will show, but the reader needs to be reminded that I only attended these two classes occasionally, and so cannot present data on Miss Odyssey and Mrs Spain of the same detail as that produced for teachers like Mrs Milton, who were watched almost every day.

TABLE A5:1

Geraldine's Speech Pattern by Subject
(Expressed per ten lessons)

Subject	Teacher	Mean No. of Moves		
		Content-Oriented	Indep-endent	Depend-ent
Maths	Newton	-	-	-
English	Keats	-	-	-
History	Flodden	5.0	-	-
Geography	Dale	-	-	-
French	French	3.3	-	-
Latin	Odyssey	25.0	-	5.0
Spanish	Spain	40.0	-	-

In Chapter 7 I said that, when a girl speaks as little as Geraldine, it is difficult to use her speech pattern as evidence for differences in work-style or outlook. In this profile I hope to circumvent that problem by showing why Geraldine talks so little in most of her subjects, and associate that with her study-habits and perspectives on her work.

Geraldine had an academic score of 14, the lowest

possible, signifying that she was in the lowest set for all her subjects. Her reasons for taking languages rather than sciences give us our first inkling of her dominant scholastic motivations:

> 'Cos I was no good at Science. Mummy thought it would be a good idea to give up science and I did as well. At least I was going to give it up and Mummy said it was a good idea as she was fed up of my moaning all the time.'

I asked 'Why Spanish? and Geraldine went on: I did Spanish rather than German because Mrs French said it was easier for me than German.' I then asked her why she was taking Latin and she continued 'Mrs W. (Their Latin teacher the previous year) said I was all right - I like Latin though but I'm not any good at it.'

These reasons give us a picture of a girl who lacks self-confidence in matters relating to her school work and her own judgements about it. She told me that her mother advised her to drop science, then amends this and says it was really her own decision in which her mother merely concurred. Again she, like many of the sample, dropped science through a perceived lack of ability, and was steered towards Spanish rather than German on the same grounds, but unlike many of the sample, she seemed to doubt the school's word when it suggests she has an ability, though accepting its negative judgements. A similar lack of confidence is mirrored in Geraldine's answers to the 'Two Dilemmas' questionnaire. She said that the character,

Pauline, should take French, the subject with the better mark, (a response given by only 4 girls at St Luke's) and wrote in the open-ended section:

> 'I'm taking French because there's more hope of me passing as I got higher marks in the last exam.'

This is a particularly timid response when one remembers that the question explicitly states that Pauline's teacher expects her to pass either subject. In the second dilemma, Geraldine answered that 'Marilyn' should divide her time between swotting for the test and reading the novel, and wrote in the open-ended section:

> 'Just as well I did take some time for the verbs because I did not know them as well as I thought.' -

again indicative of a low-level of self-confidence.

Perhaps not surprisingly, in view of this timidity, and her quietness in the classroom, Geraldine was rarely mentioned by her class-mates as popular or unpopular with the staff. In the main, those mentions she did receive suggested she was popular, particularly with Miss Dale. My notes on her personal appearance make the rarity of mentions of Geraldine by her form-mates more explicable. My initial description of Geraldine in my field-notes described her as follows:

> 'Tall, slim with a "pudding basin" hair cut. Rather childish, very quiet, rarely speaks in class. Father has his own business in the city.'

This brief summary of the features Geraldine displayed most visibly, and the most easily learnt fact about her home, is perhaps not very informative for the reader. However, it does tell us that her home background was not academic, and that she had the kind of unobtrusive self-presentation which allowed her to remain unnoticed in class.

Geraldine's hobbies were, as one would expect from her clique membership, unintellectual. She liked playing tennis, and watching her brothers' rugby club playing matches. She estimated the amount of reading she did for pleasure as 'below average', and her choice of reading matter was also undistinguished. In addition to being academically unsuccessful, therefore, Geraldine, like her friends in Clique 3, did not spend her spare time in intellectual pursuits. Though not a member of the Girl Guides as her three friends were, she was not involved in commercial or voluntary youth clubs, or other adolescent activities, but belonged to clubs with her family.(2)

Geraldine had been at St Luke's since she was five, that is the whole of her school career, and when asked if she regretted this she answered:

(2) When she came for interview Geraldine was going skating for the first time, along with her sister, Belinda, and several other girls from her year. She was dressed appropriately, in slacks and a thick jersey, but viewed the expedition with some trepidation. When I asked if she was looking forward to skating she replied 'No - I'm scared stiff'.

> 'I'm quite happy - but I would have liked to see what a mixed school's like - people I know at mixed schools get on better - more competitive.'

I asked 'even if a mixed school meant a corporation school'? and received the reply 'I wouldn't mind that'.

Given Geraldine's timidity, her total lack of independent contributions in all subjects is easily understood. Her total silence in all the lessons of Maths, English and Geography I observed, can be related to the practice of those teachers relying entirely on volunteers to make the public contributions in their lessons - those who chose to stay silent contributed nothing publicly. The existence of a small number of content-oriented moves in History and French, and a relatively large number of moves in Spanish and Latin may be partly due to the small groups in three of those subjects ('C' History had 11 members, 9 girls took Latin with Miss Odyssey, and 7 Spanish), In the case, however, of French it is caused by Mrs French's practice of 'quizzing' each girl in turn for part of the lesson. Geraldine's attitudes to these subjects are also important, however, and it is to these that I now turn.

Geraldine did not contribute a great deal to French lessons, though she did answer questions put to her by the teacher. She mentioned French as the easiest subject, and the one in which she obtained her best marks, and she told me she liked her teacher's style: 'I prefer Mrs French's teaching - keeps you awake'. Her favourite

subject was Latin, in which, as Table A5:1 shows, she contributed what was, for her, a large number of content-oriented moves (and her only tangential ones). Here again, she liked the teacher's style: 'Miss Odyssey gets you on at it. More definite'. This style, of 'getting you on at it', is contrasted in Geraldine's system, with another style, exemplified by her Spanish mistress:

> 'Mrs Spain doesn't get you on at it. She's vague - it's not that I like having prep, but I'd rather have it set - to learn vocab. rather than like Mrs Spain just says "learn what you can for the next time". and you can't really be bothered.'

In contrast to this fairly common discrimination between two teaching styles, and her, equally usual, preference for staff who organise her, Geraldine's objections to Mrs Flodden, who taught the subject she named as her hardest, and the one she would like to drop, is idiosyncratic, even bizarre: "Mrs Flodden hasn't got what I call a teacher's voice'.(3)

This, though baffling, suggests that Geraldine did not feel teachers should have an emotional commitment to their subjects, or at least should not show this enthusiasm unless her pupils also have it. It links up with something

(3) I asked Geraldine to explain what she meant by this characterisation, and was it 'something to do with the accent?'. She went on 'Not the accent - she gets so excited herself you end up getting bored'. Geraldine said of History: 'I'm hoping to give it up before 'O' level if I can. I don't understand - at least I find it difficult to learn about it, and I don't think it's worth it'.

she said later in the interview, when answering my questions on what constituted good and bad pupil behaviour. Geraldine thought that popular girls should:

> 'Volunteer for jobs but not become a pet. Some like you to be good at the subject. I'm not good at anything really. Some people like you to be very keen, always wanting you to do projects, like Mrs Flodden, while others don't mind as long as you do what's on the syllabus.'

It is noticeable that Geraldine does not say good pupils answer in class, though this was one of the commonest behaviours suggested by others.(4)

From these comments of Geraldine's we can tell that, in addition to being timid, she preserves a sense of detachment from the academic life of the school, preferring to be a passive observer rather than an active participant. Both traits can be seen in the following extract from her interview transcript, where she talks about the teacher she objected to most.

> 'Miss Knox (the RI teacher) is just a flop in my eyes (laughs in a slightly embarrassed way) - and in many others'. She's got the brains except she can't put it over to other people. And in debates etc. well - You weren't there on Monday, but I went, it was

(4) Her perception of the bad pupil is someone who is 'harum-scarum, extra-untidy, interrupting too often, and keeping books in bad condition'; a catalogue of misdeeds, none of which could be laid at her door.

> my free period, but I went along 'cos I hadn't any prep to do ... I didn't enter into the debate (on Hitler) because I knew I'd get muddled up with my facts but - she kept in the people debating against her for half an hour and told them what she thought of them.'

This anecdote shows both Geraldine's timidity 'I knew I'd get muddled', and her lack of involvement, in that she has nothing better to do with a free period than go to a class taught by 'a flop'.(5)

As she talks so little in lessons long extracts from field-notes covering Geraldine's classroom behaviour would be pointless. I am therefore just giving two, contrasting pieces, one showing her in a Latin lesson, the other in a Maths class, so that her active and passive behaviour can be compared.

> 2/Th/5 Miss Odyssey's (B) Latin Set.
>
> This lesson was based on translation of a passage of Latin into English, part of which had been been prepared for homework, the rest being done in class, with the girls working in pairs. My notes mention Geraldine in the following ways: 'Geraldine asked to start reading her translation of bit done for homework. It's quick and right. ... (Several queries from other girls dealt with) ... There is a great noise from upstairs, Belinda and Geraldine explain it's

(5) One is forcibly reminded of Henry Tilney's comment on Catherine's home life where she can 'Only go and call on Mrs Allen. What a picture of intellectual poverty!' (Northanger Abbey.)

potato peeler at work... They are told to do next bit, can work in twos as long as they're quiet... Geraldine with Belinda ... Someone asks about "qua", get into long discussion, about grammar in the book etc. Geraldine sorts out a problem for Lorna via Miss Odyssey ... Belinda and Geraldine ask "Can your mind be hostile?" ... all girls complain it's a difficult passage, so they do it ensemble - all taking part, though Esther is the least involved ... trying to put it into good English ... Lorna and Nancy struggling ... Geraldine puts her finger on the "correct" English ... (Later) ... Geraldine vols. right answer.'

Before presenting the extract from field-notes in a Maths lesson, it is important to note that it was necessary to scan the records of five classes before finding any mention of Geraldine <u>doing</u> something, as opposed to being a passive recipient.

2/Tu/4 Miss Newton's (B) Maths Set.

The class were doing problems concerning the volumes of cones. I wrote: ... 'Yvonne is the first to finish copying off the board ... They start an exercise ... Several people haven't got their books ... Geraldine sharing with Lorna ... silent individual seat-work ... Miss N. is with Cheryl...Clare's hand goes up too... Miss N. goes on to Sharon, then to Gale, then Clare...Geraldine's hand goes up... Miss N. moves on to Lorna and Geralding ... they seem, like most of the class, to have got most of it right...'

These two extracts show vividly the contrast between Geraldine's largely silent behaviour in her full-size classes and her more active behaviour in a small group where she likes the subject. It was only in Latin and Spanish that she appeared to have any interest or self-confidence which a teacher could arouse. (It is interesting that her brighter behaviour in Latin is associated with sitting next to, and collaborating with Belinda, a close friend who did sciences and so was not often in the same classes.)

In Geraldine then, we have a girl whose timidity and detachment are predominant, except in two or three subjects she likes, and in which she is taught in small groups. Her scores on the two scales of the sylb/sylf inventory are intriguing. Perhaps she scored as an intermediate because she was not involved enough to study very hard, yet too conventional and timid to be non-conscientious; and at the same time, too detached to worry about sticking to the syllabus, yet too lacking in self-confidence to pick and choose her own topics of study.

Profile A2 - Charmian: A Successful Intermediate

Charmian, our example of an academically successful intermediate, may be remembered by the reader as the girl who was quoted in Chapter 5 saying 'Maths is gorgeous'. This quote sets the tone for this profile of an highly

unusual girl. She had an academic score of 6 - the best obtainable, signifying that she was in the top set for all her subjects. She was taking Physics, Chemistry and Latin, as her 'O' grade course, planned to go to Oxford, read Maths and go into computers, because it 'seems interesting and it's to do with Maths'.

Charmian was, like Michelle, a member of Clique 5, the most aggressively academic group. She, again like Michelle, came from a dual career home, with a father in the highest echelons of the civil service, and both parents Oxbridge graduates. She had been at St Luke's for five years, and had a clear preference for St Luke's over her previous boarding school in the North of England.

> 'Oh I prefer St Luke's, and I certainly noticed the difference when I came - you talked more here - if you wanted to tell the teacher something you did - at The X you just sort of sat in neat rows and never said a thing unless you were asked.'

My initial field-notes described Charmian as follows:

> 'Big and blonde - rather like a large puppy. Very young for the year. Rather languid in speech and movement - Dislikes games <u>intensely</u>. Apparently she tires easily - Games staff say it's 'cos she's a year younger than class and has "outgrown her strength".'

Three clearly distinct motivations seemed to underly Charmian's attitudes to her schoolwork and her classroom

behaviour. The first of these is a conscious desire to be both intellectual, and original, in all spheres of her life, including her hobbies.

Charmian's hobbies were predominantly musical - playing two instruments and singing: and though she belonged to the Girl Guide movement, her attitude was intellectual:

> 'I don't like doing things like Child Nurse and Homemaker - far more interesting to do the interesting things like Speaker and Singer - Local History.'

She estimated her reading as 'considerably above average', and her responses to the detailed questions indicated that she read avidly and eclectically. She claimed to read every one of the fifteen types of book listed, nearly all the thirty listed authors, and added a large number of others. These are interesting, as they reflect both reputable (Austen and Greene) and 'pop' authors (Fleming and Buchan) plus many 'children's' writers (A.A. Milne, Lewis Carroll and Alison Utley).(6)

(6) One is reminded of a quote from one of David Holbrook's periodic attacks on public tastes in literature: 'The middle class....has been literate for some time, and as George Orwell might have said, has been more half-educated than the others; it has its own brand of middle-class rubbish which is read when the exams on "the classics" are over: - Agatha Christie, Forester, Nevil Shute, Charteris, P.G. Wodehouse....' (Holbrook, 1967, p. 157). All these authors, and most of Holbrook's other bete noirs appear on Charmian's list.

Charmian had a strong desire to be original, and, as her attitude to the Guiding Movement was to use it to do unusual things, so her response to the Russian/French dilemma stressed that same idea. Pauline, in her view, should take Russian, the subject she likes, because:

> 'As you aren't given grades at '0' grade it won't make much difference which she does. Russian is more original and different; she would probably get more out of it than French, which most people do.' (emphasis mine)

This quote does, however, also reveal another driving motivation in Charmian; the need to get good marks in everything. She herself was reticent about this aspect of her outlook on school, but Henrietta (a close friend) described the difference between her own perspective and Charmian's as follows:

> 'Charmian doesn't work at all in Geography, (but) she doesn't like doing badly in any subject even if she isn't working in it. Although I dislike doing badly in any subject it doesn't really worry me - much - well Charmian it does worry,' (emphasis Henrietta's.)

This desire for good marks can also be seen in Charmian's relative dissatisfaction with her exam results

in the summer term following my fieldwork.(7) Along with the two desires to be original and to gain good marks in everything, Charmian had a third 'angle' on her work, which together with the other two, suggests that she was an intermediate because contrasting motivations and work-styles combine, and/or struggle within her.

This third 'angle' is expressed most clearly in a quote from her interview, where she described the teaching methods of Miss Iliad and Miss Paris;

> 'They're very ... aah ... insist on very conscientious learning and aah ... and you have to sit up in their classes and listen and you can't possibly do anything else like drawing. They are the only ones we've got where I can't possibly do anything else in their lessons - they're the only ones who put things on my report about not attending.'

This quote reveals that Charmian liked the freedom to let her mind wander or to draw in class, a desire which conflicted with her aim of high marks in all subjects. Bearing these three traits in mind, Charmian's contribution pattern can be appreciated.

(7) I measured the sample's satisfaction with the results of the end-of-year exams taken in the term following my field-work, with a questionnaire administered in the early Autumn. Each girl rated her feeling about her result in each subject on a five-point scale from 'Very disappointed' through 'Satisfied' to 'Very pleased'. The average score for the sample was 33.4, that for Clique 5, who had the lowest - that is who were most often disappointed - 31.5, Charmian scored only 29.

Tables 9:1 and 9:2 showed that, while Charmian's mean number of moves in all categories was above average (14.4), both her content-oriented and her dependent moves were below average in quantity, so that only her mean number of independent moves was exceptionally high. Her high score for contributions in all categories is, therefore, disproportionately made up of independent moves. Table A5:2 shows how these contributions are distributed across the seven subjects in which I was able to observe her behaviour.

TABLE A5:2

Charmian's Speech Pattern by Subject
(Expressed per ten lessons)

Subject	Teacher	Mean No. of Moves		
		Content-Oriented	Indep-endent	Depend-ent
Maths	Napier	0.9	2.7	00
English	Milton	2.8	8.5	0
History	Flodden	12.0	24.0	0
Geography	Hill	1.4	2.8	0
Physics	Cavendish	3.0	10.0	0
Chemistry	Boyle	18.3	10.0	1.6
Latin	Iliad	23.3	0	0

Table A5:2 shows that all Charmian's dependent moves occurred in Chemistry classes; that Latin is the only subject in which no independent or dependent moves were tallied; and that Latin, Chemistry and History are the only

subjects in which a significant number of content-oriented contributions were recorded. Another unusual feature of Charmian's speech pattern, revealed by the table, is that in all subjects except Chemistry and Latin, her independent moves outnumber her content-oriented ones.

Some of these features are, of course, related to the prevailing atmosphere which the relevant teachers create in their classes. For example we have seen in Chapter 7 that Miss Iliad received very few tangential moves (2.3 per lesson), so it seems reasonable to find Charmian 'scoring blanks' for tangential contributions in Latin. Similarly, we know from Chapter 7 that Miss Boyle and Miss Iliad, (alone among the staff observed teaching Charmian) used 'drill and practice' round the class for much of the lesson, a procedure which explains why Charmian seemed to change her speech pattern and made many content-oriented moves in those subjects. However to illuminate the figures shown in the table further, it is necessary to turn briefly to the field-notes and interview transcript again.

Chapter 5 discussed the general orientation of the girls towards their basic curriculum. It showed that the school's policy of putting all girls into 'O' grade courses in both History and Geography was unpopular with my sample. In particular, it was obvious that girls in the 'A' set for geography disliked the subject and wished to drop it - and Charmian was no exception:

> 'I'd like to drop Geography - I just can't do it - I mean I like Geography but I can't learn it - I'd rather do like you do in England and drop Geography to do Additional Maths but you can't do it here.'

This comment, and Charmian's opinions of Mrs Hill and Mrs Flodden, go some way towards explaining the discrepancies between her speech pattern in History and Geography.(8) Charmian's opinions about Mrs Flodden were complimentary:

> 'She's easy-going - I mean you don't have to sit up and pay attention every minute - it may be better to be very exact and so forth - for languages - but I think Mrs Flodden is a jolly good History teacher - the best we've got. In lessons she's like Mrs Milton - they let you discuss things.'

Mrs Flodden's easy-going style, and her encouragement of discussion is reflected by Charmian's highest score for independent contributions. In contrast Geography has one of the lowest content-oriented scores and one of the lower independent ones.

Charmian's reaction on being presented with the names of Miss Iliad and Miss Paris has been given already.

(8) Charmian said of Mrs Hill: 'I like Mrs Hill, and ... I don't know if she likes me - we tease her enough. It's better out of lessons - depends what you do that lesson - she lets you talk - sort of - about your opinions separately - I mean at lunch or something you can have a discussion.'

She went on to compare them to her other teachers:

> '...are the only ones we've got where I can't possibly do anything else in the lessons - they're the only ones who put things on my report about not attending.'

I then asked, in the light of findings from previous interviews: 'Do either of them frighten you?' and she went on:

> 'Mmmmm yes! When Miss Paris's in a - you know - really cross or Miss Iliad's just being quiet and you know you ought to have remembered it, or heard it and you weren't listening - it's <u>too awful</u> for words - especially Miss Iliad. And you can't remember the first person singular of Amo if you're really frightened. If Miss Paris doesn't laugh after she's had an outburst - then it begins to worry me and then when she goes on at everyone - Obviously I'm frightened if she's cross with me.' (Emphasis Charmian's)

Given this fear of Miss Iliad's disapproval, it is not surprising that Charmian made no tangential remarks in Latin throughout my field-work period. Despite her fear, Charmian did not feel that either teacher picked on her - indeed when asked that question in the interview she denied that any member of staff disliked or discriminated against her ('nooo - I don't think so.') She had, however, definite ideas about what made girls popular or otherwise with the staff:

> 'Popular with teachers? - well - the bright ones to start with - it's awfully difficult to

> think of what a teacher would like - they're always telling you not to quibble. It depends on the teacher - Mrs Flodden likes it. If you can produce things about the period you're in - like I once took something in Greek that I wanted translated to Miss Iliad and she - positively beamed at me. A great occasion. It depends - I think perhaps enthusiasm's probably the most important thing.' (emphasis Charmian's.)
>
> 'And girls who are unpopular?'
>
> 'People who never put up their hands and even try to answer a question - people who don't listen in class - like me. I don't know - there are some people like Sharon who stick up their hands - and - make miscellaneous remarks which I think must be pretty irritating. Oh - not learning your vocab. (sic), coming in late and leaving your books behind.'

Charmian's feeling that none of the staff either liked her or discriminated against her, suggests that she did not see herself as a very salient pupil in the staff's universe. This was far from being the case. Opinion in the staffroom was that Charmian was 'outstandingly gifted' academically, and she figured in many conversations. One incident is revealing:

> 'Over lunch Mrs Milton told me that she had run another lesson on creative writing today (while I was with the 'B' set) using music instead of pictures as stimuli, which had suited Charmian much better. Apparently Charmian hadn't been able to write anything about the

> abstract pictures and had become "very up-tight". At this point Mrs Ayer joined in the conversation (she taught my sample Classical Background, but also taught English in the school) and said that she had once set Charmian an English prep that she found "impossible". Apparently Mrs Ayer told them to write an essay called "The Naughtiest Thing I Ever Did", and Charmian could not think of anything to write about and became upset. Finally Charmian wrote an essay in which the naughtiest thing she had ever done was to fail to write an essay for Mrs Ayer on the naughtiest thing she had ever done.

As befits an intermediate in terms of study-habits, Charmian expressed mixed attitudes towards teaching styles. On one hand she said: 'Well - I think for languages it's better to be exact.', but her opinions about other teaching styles are not unfavourable. For example, when asked about Mrs Cavendish and Miss Napier as teachers she said:

> 'Mrs Cavendish? - I think she makes simple things complicated - you have to - oh - I think - I don't know - you do things - I think if you're given enough things to do for yourself you'll learn Physics quite well that way - but oh it's more Teach Yourself Physics - with the experiments - and you explain how to do the experiments - and - have to - the book's a jolly good one, and you have to understand from that.'
>
> 'Do you usually understand things?'
>
> 'Once I've worked out how, why a thing is what it is, then I'm alright.'
>
> 'How about Miss Napier?'

> 'Miss Napier? - she's very much better than (the teacher they had last year) - really very good - explains things jolly well.'

Here Mrs Cavendish's style which produces the long, if somewhat inarticulate, description, while Miss Napier is just praised, although Maths is one of the most salient subjects in Charmian's curriculum.

In summary, Charmian is a successful intermediate - but an intermediate as a result of opposing desires and perspectives. She wanted to be original and intellectual; yet to get good marks in all subjects. She wanted to succeed; yet was relatively lazy in class. Her classroom speech pattern reveals these paradoxes - it is different from those of many of the sample, in that Charmian made more independent moves than content-oriented ones - yet reflects the 'atmospheres' of the various teachers she attended. Charmian's perspective on mathematics is enough to mark her out as an unusual girl - and her comment upon the subject in her interview is a characteristic note on which to end her profile. She said:

> 'Maths is my favourite subject - I think I put English (on the questionnaire) but it's my best subject and - it's gorgeous really - It's always been my best subject.' ....

Profile A3 - Janice, a conscientious sylf

Janice is one of two girls who were classified as conscientious sylfs, and interestingly, both of them are

boarders. This can be related back to the argument in Chapter 2, that the sylb/sylf inventory can be used as both a measure of attitudes towards work, and also as a self-report inventory, in which pupils 'recount' what they actually do. In the case of these two conscientious sylfs (a classification which Chapter 2 showed to be rare among girls) this argument is highly relevant. Because the boarders live in an institutional setting, their work is more closely supervised, and time is officially allocated for 'homework'. Thus all the girls in the boarding house are likely to score towards the conscientious end of the scale, because all the four items in that scale deal with behaviour, while many of those in the syllabus-bound scale tap attitudes. So a girl who likes to follow her own ideas, or make her own notes may, if she lives in the boarding house, still do her written prep on time, because her timetable organises her to do it at the 'right' time.

Janice had an academic score of 14 (the lowest possible), and was taking Spanish and Biology as her optional 'O' grade courses. Her reasons for her choice are sylf-like:

> 'I've always liked the sound of the Spanish tongue. I just wanted to learn it.'
>
> 'Why not German?'
>
> 'German's too difficult - and for German you have to do Latin and I couldn't do it at all.'

Here the reason advanced first is Janice's liking for Spanish, and it is only my probe which elicits the 'typical' reasons of German and Latin being difficult.

As a sylf Janice was less likely than her form-mates to 'suspend disbelief' when answering questionnaires. For instance when she tackled the 'dilemma' concerning homework (see questionnaires in Appendix 3) she wrote 'I've done my French, but I've enjoyed my novel - how virtuous I am!' This response clearly mocks gently at the researcher.

Janice had been a boarder since she was nine though her home was only some twenty miles from Edinburgh, and therefore nearer than those of several girls who commuted to school every day. Together with Barbara she was the least contented boarder in the sample. She sought every possible excuse to spend weekends staying with day-girls in the city.

Janice listed hobbies which were predominantly sporting: 'golf, riding, ski-ing' but she was also very involved in music, playing two instruments. She estimated the amount of leisure reading she did as 'average', a low estimate for a boarder, and this went with a commonplace selection of books, (except that she claimed to read 'poetry' as a type of book, and said she read no magazines or newspapers at all). Her involvement in music was revealed by her answer to my enquiries about career intentions; Janice was unsure whether to become a music teacher or do social work training.(9) (Music was her favourite subject,

(9) The reader may remember that girls who were heavily committed to an adolescent sub-culture were particularly likely to be considering occupations of the teaching/social work/nursing kind.

together with Spanish.)

My initial field-notes identifying Janice read,

> 'Small, plump, long dark hair, sometimes in the statutory bunches. Spanish and French good. Giggles. Miss Keats says she's "annoying but not malicious. . Tends to speak without raising her hand.'

Later, as I came to know Janice and her classmates better, I came to the conclusion that she was impulsive and irrepressible in class, and also relatively detached from the ebb and flow of classroom life and teacher-pupil relations. Although she worked conscientiously, as she said on the inventory that she did, in that her prep was rarely late and so on, I became convinced that this was largely due to her organised boarding house life, rather than to any personal involvement in many of the subjects. Various kinds of data led me to these conclusions, such as the staffroom conversation which follows immediately, and the interview data and material on classroom contributions which are set out after that. First, the staffroom conversation which took place in my hearing concerning Janice:

> 'Several of the younger staff were discussing Janice: Miss X, (a PE teacher) said that Janice and Esther (the other conscientious sylf, boarder) had invented a "new" Scottish country dance for her, and she was "very touched". This sparked off discussion about Janice - Majority opinion said that she was "a pest" - Mrs Linnaeus was very anti - Mrs W.

> her form mistress said she had been "hopeless" at Latin but she was "a nice willing girl" - and always "lumbered" with the Charities 'cos no-one else could do it properly. This produced a consensus that she was "a nice willing girl" but "hopeless in class".'

This staffroom conversation is interesting in that it reveals an ambivalence in staff attitudes towards Janice which is reflected in how her form-mates perceived her relationships with the teachers.

One reason for the ambivalent staff attitudes may have been Janice's concept of what characteristics made girls popular and unpopular with teachers. Her answer to the question on what made pupils disliked was 'normal' ("being rude to them"); but she had an unusual, and strangely passive, idea of what caused popularity: "It's just you - whether they like you or not". The fatalism of 'just you' is noticeable; most girls thought that active good behaviour was necessary. Janice's passivity can be related to her perceptions of the various staff and to her classroom speech pattern.

Together with this strangely fatalistic attitude to pupil-staff relations, Janice has a very detached attitude towards her own classroom behaviour. When I asked her how teachers felt about girls who argued with them and voiced their own opinions Janice replied:

> 'They (girls who do that) obviously want to get attention - doesn't worry me when people do

that - annoys me - it's just to get attention. I feel sorry for them!

This answer, apart from being irrelevant to my question, was highly unusual. The majority of the sample replied that questioning the teachers and 'butting in' led to unpopularity. Janice seemed unaware that her own behaviour - with its above average number of tangential contributions - was similar to that of those who annoyed her. An examination of her contribution pattern follows.

As Table 9:2 showed, Janice made an average of 8.9 content-oriented moves, 4.7 independent moves, and 2.6 dependent ones in ten lessons (across all her subjects): mean scores which placed her in the middle quintile for content-oriented moves, the fourth for independent, and the fifth for dependent contributions compared with her classmates. Janice then had only an average score for answering the teacher's questions, but was above average for both kinds of tangential contribution.

Table A5:3 shows Janice's speech moves broken down by subject. This table reveals considerable variations between the subjects in all three types of contributions. Janice obviously makes many more content-oriented contributions in her two languages than in the other subjects, while her independent moves are highest in the social sciences and Spanish, and her dependent moves are so unevenly distributed they only appear in four of the seven subjects in her curriculum.

TABLE A5:3

Janice's Speech Pattern by Subject
(Expressed per ten lessons)

Subject	Teacher	Mean No. of Moves		
		Content-Oriented	Indep-endent	Depend-ent
Maths	Newton	1.0	4.0	3.0
English	Keats	8.8	6.6	-
History	Flodden	10.0	10.0	20.0
Geography	Dale	-	10.0	-
French	French	28.3	-	-
Biology	Linnaeus	-	3.7	2.5
Spanish	Spain	60.0	10.0	10.0

Some of these figures have an obvious relationship with Janice's responses to the initial questionnaire and my interview questions. Her score for content-oriented moves, for example, is lowest in Maths, Geography and Biology, three subjects which Janice disliked, found difficult, or objected to the teacher.

Janice named Maths as her hardest subject on the initial questionnaire, and when asked in her interview if there were any subjects in her basic curriculum she would like to drop, she answered 'Maths - no, Geography'. The negative attitude towards Geography ('I just don't like it very much.') goes with a negative feeling for the teacher: 'I don't know Miss Dale very well, but I don't like her'. While Janice did not express any dislike for Biology she felt antagonistic towards her Biology teacher:

> 'Mrs Linnaeus doesn't look on you as an individual - not concerned - pays more attention to people who know most Biology - naturally.'

Janice's attitude to her Maths teacher is more complicated. She did not mention that Miss Newton disliked her, or vice versa, but she described her in a relatively unflattering way:

> 'Miss Newton's not with the lessons - she's very vague - she does notice what's going on - just her manner. She's dull too, it's not an interesting subject.'

In Maths then, as in Geography and Biology, Janice was uninterested, or even hostile, and one expression of this is a low rate of content-oriented contributions.

In contrast to these subjects where Janice's content-oriented moves were low in number, are those subjects in which they are noticeably large; particularly Spanish and French. My initial commentary on Janice noted her enthusiastic participation in those subjects: Spanish was one of her favourite parts of her curriculum. Her high 'score' for content-oriented moves in French is, of course, partly due to the fact that there was a great deal of participation from the pupil body as a group in Mrs French's lessons (35% pupil talk as measured by Flanders), and, because Mrs French 'quizzed' each girl in turn, that percentage is distributed more evenly among the twenty odd girls in the set than is the case with those teachers who

rely on volunteer participators. Janice makes more than her fair share of contributions to French lessons by answering many questions for which volunteered responses are sought, (to correct or prompt others, for example).[10]

Thus, Janice's content-oriented moves are very dependent on her attitude to the subject and the person teaching it. Where she enjoys the subject and likes the member of staff, she participates; where she dislikes them she stays silent. Her pattern of tangential moves is less easily explained. Table A5:3 shows that Janice made ten or more independent contributions per ten lessons in Spanish, Geography and History, and none at all in French; while she made no dependent moves at all in three of her subjects, but a high number in History and Spanish. The underlying reasons for this pattern of tangential moves must be sought in my field-notes and in Janice's accounts of her own behaviour.

I stated a little earlier in this profile that I had decided during my field-work that Janice was both impulsive and irrepressible[11] in her classroom behaviour, and at the same time detached from the stream of classroom

(10) She was favourably inclined towards the staff who taught her Spanish and French. Mrs Spain is 'Much more concerned, looks on you as an individual' (but she is also 'a lazy person'). Mrs French is 'with the lessons - more interesting, teaches an interesting subject.'
(11) Janice was an extrovert, and this 'personality' score is associated with impulsiveness in the literature (Davis and Leith, 1966).

events. This disoriented nature of Janice's attitudes to staff-pupil relations has been shown; while the impulsive nature of her tangential classroom contributions can be seen from the following extracts from my field-notes:

> 4/M/4. Miss Newton's (B) Maths set. Early in the lesson... 'Miss N's going over prep - those with it all correct are to do problems on the board. There is constant chatter - despite frequent rude comments from Miss Newton - such as, to Janice (who is back from a day in the sick-bay) "We're not here to catch up on the gossip. Have you anything to ask?" Janice doesn't reply...(a bit later)... Janice goes up to the desk for help, and sees a Maths text book in the waste-paper basket. She points this out to Miss Newton, accusing her of throwing away good books. Miss N. patiently explains it's an old copy with a lot of pages missing... (A few minutes later) ... Everyone is threatened with a disorder mark if they talk, Janice is chattering again.
>
> 3/F/2. Mrs French's (B) French set. 'Janice finds a bit in Whitmarsh which gives a different grammar rule from that Mrs French is suggesting. Mrs French says the book's wrong.'
>
> 8/Th/4. Miss Keats' (B) English set. This lesson is about twins: Janice volunteers several times, and offers to do pen portraits of a pair [of a pair] of eighteen year olds; I wrote 'Janice reads her pen portraits. She is obviously involved in some sort of joke with Mary. Her description is of a dreamy man, with a detailed facial description including long eyelashes.

> Her girl twin is also described in great detail, but it is the boy who causes great amusement among her friends - obviously a touched-up portrait of Sandy (her boyfriend).'

Janice's behaviour in English, (which makes it clear why Miss Keats refers to her as 'annoying but not malicious') is relatively co-operative. In the lesson on twins, she was using a legitimate task to amuse her friends, by discussing her own boyfriend under cover of an exercise in descriptive writing.

In summary, Janice could be said to be a typical syllabus-free girl, in that she behaves very differently in the subjects she likes and dislikes, and for the staff she favours and objects to, co-operating with the former, and staying silent for the rest. She could also, however, be described as an impulsive extrovert, blurting things out as they occur to her, yet, unlike some of the other girls who stretch, or break, the rules of classroom behaviour in this way, she seemed strangely unaware of the disruptive effects and resultant unpopularity. Her mind seemed often elsewhere, (she asked frequent questions which revealed she had not been listening) and whether this is a cause or a result of her detachment from the stream of classroom events is unclear. It does seem certain that her score as a conscientious worker is more closely related to her life as a boarder than to her classroom behaviour or her general demeanour.

PROFILE A4 - DEBORAH

Deborah was the only girl in my St Luke's sample to be both non-conscientious and syllabus-bound. She was, therefore, statistically unique. She stood out from the rest of the sample in other ways too: the only girl to be chosen by no-one as a friend; the only girl whose parents forbade an interview; the girl who was most frequently absent during my fieldwork. These factors make Deborah an interesting subject for a profile, but it is difficult to write because I was not allowed to interview her.(12) The richest source of individual data is therefore missing.

The reader will remember that Deborah's classmates not only did not choose her as a friend but actually disliked her. The reasons advanced were not academic, but were to do with her family background. Thus, the only source of material with which to illuminate Deborah's classroom speech are the few questionnaires and inventories she completed. Deborah's profile is, of necessity, brief.

Deborah was an only child whose parents ran an old-established family business, which she was going to inherit. She had been at St Luke's all her school life, although she was not, at the time of my field-work, popular or central to any activities. Henrietta saw her unpopularity as having recent origins:

(12) In addition three of the questionnaires were filled in during the interviews, so these data too are missing.

> 'She used to be a lot more popular than she is - very funny - if you'd come two years ago I wouldn't have said she was an isolate.'

Henrietta, like the girls quoted in Chapter 4, attributed Deborah's unpopularity to her dependence and conversational emphasis on her parents, at a time when most girls were turning outside their homes for their ideas and interests.(13) Given this supposed dependence on her family, Deborah's response to the dilemma about homework is interesting. This question asked about the priority which should be given to learning verbs for a French test and reading a novel the subject ('Marilyn') enjoyed. Deborah gave one of the three 'syllabus-bound' responses I received from St Luke's, but her answer to the open-ended section shows a spark of rebellion:

> 'I'm glad I did the verbs because I am much more confident about them. And in any case I can read by torchlight all night if I want to.'

Deborah was doing well at school, having an academic score of 6 - the best possible. She had chosen to do classics, and said she wished to read that subject at University before returning to the family business. She

(13) Both Henrietta and Penny also suggested that Deborah was unpopular because she did not take care of her personal appearance and was 'not exactly good looking - and it makes a difference - I don't know why.' In my early field-notes I wrote that she was 'tall and thin, with a "pudding basin" hair cut and buck teeth' - a description which suggests a personal front unlikely to strike teachers favourably or otherwise.

belonged to several school clubs and played in teams; her hobbies outside the school being musical, intellectual and sporting. (One might hypothesise that Deborah's sporting interests are the reason that Clique 5 - who all maintained that they despised team games - excluded her from their friendship group.)

Table A5:4 shows Deborah's classroom speech broken down by subjects. As Deborah was one of the three classicists, and I did not collect data in Greek classes, Table A5:4 looks relatively sparse. It is noticeable that Deborah made no dependent moves in any subject; and that she made very few independent moves, and those are concentrated in English and Geography. It is also striking that Deborah spoke frequently in Latin and in Geography - both subjects in which many of the other girls in my sample were relatively subdued.

TABLE A5:4

Deborah's Speech Pattern by Subject
(expressed per ten lessons)

Subject	Teacher	Mean No. of Moves		
		Content-Oriented	Independent	Dependent
Maths	Napier	6.3	0	0
English	Milton	4.2	1.4	0
History	Flodden	2.0	0	0
Geography	Hill	11.4	1.4	0
Latin	Iliad	20.0	0	0

Deborah's initial questionnaire responses give some indication of her attitudes. She answered the questions on her favourite subject, and on the one in which she got her best marks, with Latin. This, and her ambition to read Classics at University, both fit her eager participation in Latin lessons. One might hypothesise that Deborah would also be unusual in preferring Geography to History, but this was not the case. Like the other members of the 'A' set, Deborah saw herself taking History to 'H' grade rather than Geography. The reason for her higher participation in Geography was evident from the field-notes and is perhaps surprising. Deborah volunteered to answer questions in History with great enthusiasm, but Mrs Flodden very rarely asked her to speak. (In one class she raised her hand seventeen times and was never once called on.) In contrast, Mrs Hill regularly called on her when her hand was raised. (This may have been due to the fact that more girls volunteered in History, and so Mrs Flodden had a greater number of people to choose from, while Mrs Hill had only the same few hands going up and down regularly.)

Chapter 7 discussed how being conscientious and being syllabus-bound or free were related to classroom speech patterns for the sample as a whole. Conscientious girls made above average numbers of content-oriented moves, while syllabus-free girls made more independent ones than their classmates. As a non-conscientious sylb, therefore, Deborah should make relatively few content-oriented moves, and a below average number of indeppendent ones. In fact,

as Tables 7:10 and 7:11 showed, Deborah made an average number of content-oriented moves, but was in the bottom quintile for independent ones. Thus Deborah, though 'odd' in many ways, compared to the sample as a whole, does show, in her classroom speech, the same associations between her behaviour and her questionnaire responses that the other girls do.

APPENDIX 6

Additional Extracts from English Lessons

As promised in Chapter 8, this appendix contains another two extracts from field-notes taken in English lessons taught by Mrs Milton and MIss Keats. The first extract presented comes from a lesson on 'Critical Appreciation' taught to the 'A' set early in my field work.

Extract 1 - 'A' English - 3'M/2

The set were discussing an extract about novels, reprinted in a textbook of passages for critical discussion and precis. The extract concerned fiction writing - and Mrs Milton took the opportunity to start a more general discussion.

Mrs M: While we are on the subject, what do you think makes a novel - a really great novel?

Jill: I think it's about people with emotional feelings - about human emotion.

Alexandra: I don't think a novel needs to be emotional - it's just a story.

Mrs M: (Accepts both these noncommitally) Mmmmmm - What do you think Rosalind?

Rosalind: I agree with Alex. It's just a story.

Mrs M: How about you, Jackie?

Jackie: A novel is fiction which I read in my spare time.

Barbara: It's a sloppy, wishy-washy thing.

Mrs M: (Accepts these without comment. Asks what makes a <u>great</u> novel.)

Penny: A classic story.

Evelyn: There are two sorts of novel - classic ones and popular ones - the ones ....modern ones...the ones people read to relax that won't last.

Henrietta: Like detective stories or James Bond.

Mrs M: (Again accepts these without judgement) Anything else - Yes. Selina?

Selina: A classic novel is old, it's lasted - the sort of book that everyone reads.

Mrs M: (Asks what separates classic from modern or popular novels.)

Evelyn: I think it's a matter of who wrote them - how well-written they are.

Henrietta: It's a classic if its timeless - it goes on and on.

Mrs M: Can you have a modern classic?

Charmian: (Very languidly) No you can't - it's got to last before it can be a classic.

Evelyn: That's not true. All the classics were modern in their day.

Henrietta: I think it depende how memorable the book is.

(At this point the bell rang to finish the lesson.)

<u>Extract 2 - 'B' English - 3/M/3</u>

This lesson includes the discussion of puberty which caused such embarrassment to the girls. The set had

finished reading through Twelfth Night, and were about to plan how they might act short scenes from it. Miss Keats wanted them to discuss how the play could be staged.

Miss K: (Asks what are the major problems associated with staging the play.) (Cheryl's hand goes up, among others, and she is called on.)

Cheryl: Staging the shipwreck.

Miss K: (Suggests that this can be avoided - that there is something more central to the action than that.) (Lorna's hand goes up - she is called on.)

Lorna: Getting the identical twins - it needs two people who look alike.

Miss K: (Accepts this. Says that before they discuss ways in which a producer might get round this problem, they should think about twins. Tells Mary to sit up 'and take that silly grin off your face'. Then asks what sorts of twins are there?) (Clare's hand is one of those raised - she is asked.)

Clare: You can have identical twins or just twins.

Miss K: (Accepts this - asks what can occur with 'just twins' that can't with identical twins.)

Sharon: (Speaks without raising her hand.) Identical twins can't be a boy and a girl.

Miss K: (Accepts this. Asks if they know why. No answer is forthcoming, so she describes the biology of the two types. The girls [illegible]ggle.) So, could the twins in 12th Night have really been identical? (Philippa's hand one of the first up - she is called on.)

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Philippa: No.

Miss K: (Accepts this. Asks if even identical twins are ever completely identical.) (Several hands - Zoe is called on.)

Zoe: Their fingerprints wouldn't be the same, because nobody's are exactly.

Miss K: (Glides over this - asks her previous question again.)

Janice: It all depends if you know them. They could look the same to someone who didn't really...didn't know them, but anyone ...like their mother would always know who was which one.

Miss K: (Reacts with pleasure to this. It was clearly the answer she wanted. Asks them to think of any twins they have known and tell the class about them.) Sharon is first to volunteer, and tells her story, then Belinda.

Belinda: There are twins - boys at our church - they're identical. I used... I couldn't tell them apart at first but I can now.

Miss K: Is that because you know them?

Belinda: Well one of them has long sideburns and the other... (The rest of Belinda's contribution is drowned by giggles.)

(Miss Keats went on to get another seven anecdotes. She then tried to bring the discussion round to the possibilities of mistaking a boy for his twin sister.

She asks why, and at what age, it would be unlikely to occur.)

Clare: They'd be dressed differently once they weren't tiny... you could tell by their clothes after about a year.

Gale: Not if they both wore trousers.

Janice: They'd have their hair done differently.

Miss K: (Intervenes, and asks how twins would be different after about 13, when would it be unlikely that one could be mistaken for the other.) (At this question the whole class collapsed in embarrassed titters at once. No-one was prepared to volunteer the obvious.)

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